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# Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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## Ecclesiastical Affairs.

### THE FIRST NIGHT'S DEBATE IN THE LORDS.

THE debate in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Irish Church Bill, which commenced on Monday afternoon, will be looked back upon as the most memorable Parliamentary incident since the Reform Bill of 1832. We are not sure whether the attitude which the hereditary branch of the Legislature may take up in relation to Mr. Gladstone's measure will not more sensibly affect the future position and influence of their Lordships' House, than that in which they attempted, upwards of thirty years ago, to breast the popular current which had set in in favour of enlarging the representation of the people. The question itself with which they have to deal, involves a principle more deeply affecting the social, moral, and religious well-being of the community. The measure before them initiates a policy fraught with more extensive changes, and more momentous results. The force of opinion, as expressed by the House of Commons, is sufficiently powerful to outweigh the aggregate force of individual conviction and sentiment which each member of the Upper House may chance to possess. Every noble lord must be aware, in spite of multitudinous meetings convened by a clever adaptation of and improvement upon the machinery of their opponents, that the British people have, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "set their foot down" upon the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church, as a measure of justice to Ireland and as a necessary preliminary to all other measures recommended by expediency, for bringing into cordial union the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland. No one doubts that the doom of the Irish Church, as an Establishment, is finally sealed. No one can anticipate that the execution of it can be deferred for more than a few months, or that the delay can be made beneficial to the Ecclesiastical community which seems intent upon obtaining it. It is well understood that the Lords, almost to a man, view with the strongest repugnance the policy of a separation between the Church and the State, of which the Government measure is a fair embodiment. The only question of vital interest to the nation and to the House of Peers, as a part of the Constitution of the country, is, whether the voice of some three or four hundred privileged men shall override the decision of the people of the

three kingdoms, given on a solemn appeal made to them, at the General Election, on the very question now under consideration.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the usually quiet hall of legislation set apart for the Peers should have exhibited on Monday night a scene of extraordinary excitement. The House, which is rarely graced with the attendance of more than a couple of score of members, was filled in every part. Peers, peeresses, members of the House of Commons, and strangers, were present in sufficient numbers to occupy every yard of available space. Every countenance was lit up with the excitement of the occasion. Curiosity was strained to detect the smallest indications of how the event would finally go. Rumours, the most various and conflicting, were passed from mouth to mouth. Something had happened in the course of the morning which, taken in connection with occurrences which had preceded them during the week, was generally interpreted as a sure sign that a majority would refuse to reject the second reading of the Bill. There were not wanting, however, assurances, made on what is called the best authority, that the measure would not pass that critical stage. Such was the circumstantial setting of the debate, the first stage of which we are about to remark upon.

It would, perhaps, be unfair to expect that the argumentation, either for or against the measure, should present any aspect of striking novelty. We are not about to reproduce those topics which have been before our readers in such a variety of shapes for twelve months past. The question as one of high political expediency in regard to the future government of Ireland, has been literally exhausted. Nothing new has been said upon it, or probably can be said, during the present debate. We look at the discussion far more as it may be held to indicate the future fate of the measure than as opening out new lines of information, reasoning, or instruction. And we take this first night's debate in the House of Lords as more suggestive of peril to the integrity of the Bill and to the satisfactory settlement of the great question at issue, especially as it regards the influence it will exercise as a precedent for future application, than we should do on the peremptory rejection of the measure by even a large majority. The speeches of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, which strongly and even vehemently urged the acceptance of the principle of the measure in deference to the judgment pronounced by the people of the country, and which traced out some of the alterations in detail by which the operation of that principle might be minimised, cannot but have produced considerable impression upon their Lordships' minds. Our apprehension is that, as a whole, the Bill of the Government will receive the formal sanction of the Peers, perhaps even by a large majority—possibly without a division—but that the concession will be made with a view so to recast the provisions of the measure in Committee as to leave the Irish Church with a large portion of her existing endowments. We have faith in the Government, that it will not allow its policy to be practically set aside while formally assented to. When Earl Granville intimated that his colleagues, equally with himself, "would gratefully welcome any alteration in the details which appeared to them likely to

have a beneficial effect," we are happy to say that he prefaced that remark by declaring that "they were determined to adhere religiously to the principle and to the main provisions of the Bill." But, unquestionably, the Lords have it in their power, and we suspect will exercise that power, to throw the responsibility of rejecting the measure on the Government of the House of Commons. Such changes in the details of the Bill as will not affect its principle will be little likely to satisfy their present temper. We doubt whether they will concede disendowment or secularisation, or, at any rate, whether they will carry out disendowment to an extent which will even approximate to the establishment of religious equality. In that case the measure, as one of healing efficacy, will be of little worth. This is a matter in which a compromise is sure to fail. We have to deal with a susceptible people; we shall have to deal with them under circumstances which have rendered their natural susceptibility more than ordinarily sensitive. Their rights have been so fully expounded to them that any effort to curtail them within artificial limits will tend to greater alienation and disaffection than any which have previously existed.

Of one thing we feel certain. The large majority in the House of Commons which passed the Bill will stand firmly by its main provisions at any risk. We see nothing in the debate, so far as it has proceeded, which is likely to weaken their determination with regard to it. The upshot of what has been advanced in the House of Lords is this:—"We do not like this policy; we decline to carry it out to its legitimate extent; we feel ourselves precluded by the voice of the nation from rejecting it altogether; but we will do our best so to circumscribe its operation, as to answer our own views, whatever may be its effect upon the condition of the Irish people." This purpose, come in what shape it may, we are convinced the House of Commons will not concur in promoting. But we confess that the prospect which the struggle to defeat it will open to Her Majesty's subjects in the United Kingdom is one which we could well have wished the wisdom of the Lords might have prevented the necessity of their being called upon to contemplate.

## ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

THE opponents of the Irish Church Bill have now, we suppose, done their best and their worst. That they have been able to organise large meetings by way of protest against it, no one is disposed to deny, just as no one would have denied their capability of doing this. Nor can there be any question that these meetings represent a considerable amount of strong and earnest, and, we may add, intolerant feeling. Whether they would have been held if a Tory Government had brought in a Bill for the "levelling up" of the Roman Catholic Church is open to question. Very few people, we imagine, are of opinion that the so-called "Protestant" feeling would, in that case, have found any expression whatever. If Mr. Disraeli had proposed to take away half the endowments of the Protestant Established Church of Ireland and have them handed over to the Roman Catholics, it would have been an innocent and patriotic act; but when Mr. Gladstone proposes to give the Roman Catholics only a few thousand pounds, it is natural that a merely bastard Protestantism should raise its front of protest and defiance. Besides numbers, these meetings have had another characteristic. We thought that abusive language



had reached its climax last week, but we were mistaken. At the Manchester and other meetings Mr. Gladstone has been assailed in language which it would be an insult to that statesman to repeat in all its fulness and all its offensiveness. We will, however, quote a little of it; and if any further proof of the weakness and badness of the Church and Tory cause be needed, this language should be sufficient to give it. Thus, Mr. Mitchell, at Manchester, congratulated the Catholics upon the accession of Mr. Gladstone to their ranks; but "he did not mean to say that Mr. Gladstone had the common honesty to avow himself a Roman Catholic"; the Rev. Mr. Foley denounced the same statesman as "a Papist in his heart"; the Rev. H. C. Wainwright drew a picture of the House of Lords considered by posterity as the safeguard of the State, while "the name of Gladstone would be handed down as the name of a traitor," "unwept, unhonoured, and unused." The Rev. Dr. Massingham said—"If we could only clothe him in a Roman Catholic garb he would make a very good Papist, and then he would appear to us in his true colours. He is doing the work of a Jesuit; why does he not avow it?" The rev. gentleman went on to suggest that Mr. Gladstone would appropriately "end his days in a lunatic asylum," and therefore he wished to "make a handsome provision for his brethren." Mr. —, but we have quoted enough. As we said last week, and as the *Daily Telegraph* said yesterday, these men and their language are the natural product of the system that we have hitherto fostered.

While we cannot notice separately all the spoken speeches on this question, we may notice "A Speech not spoken," by Dr. Harold Browne, Bishop of Ely. We have this in a pamphlet of some forty pages, in which the right reverend author goes over, with more or less fulness, the question of Established Churches. The Bishop of Ely could not very well have joined in the "Protestant" demonstrations, for he endeavours to show that it would be "more logical and more equitable" to endow the Church of Rome in Ireland, than to insist on the disestablishment and disendowment of the present Protestant Church. Of that Church, if Mr. Gladstone's Bill passes, he has no hope. He says, "Though we are told that the Irish Church will now be set free, and will then be able to act more independently, and so more successfully, yet we must remember that it has for centuries been denied all free action and free speech. It will be like a man for years fettered and manacled and imprisoned, suddenly let loose and bade to work for his living, to exercise his calling, and to defend himself against his enemies. . . . What can be its prospects? . . . What hope is there that this unorganised, cramped, confined body—cramped by those who have professed to protect it—with no support but that of the unliving rich, shall, in a fair field, hold its own against the highly organised, powerful, not only free but long dominant Church which has largely enlisted the affections of the poor?" Nothing so severe as this has ever been said against the Irish, or any other Establishment, excepting what follows from the same pen, that if the Protestant Episcopal Churches in England and Ireland are to be disestablished and disendowed, "there is no hope but of re-absorption in Rome." So well have those Protestant Churches trained their people! such strong bulwarks have they been against the errors of Romanism! If this has been their influence already, what is likely to be their future influence?

Far different is the spirit in which Dr. Hook, the Dean of Chichester, writes of the present crisis. In a published lecture on the Disestablished Church in the United States, which is full of information and full of encouragement to his brethren, Dr. Hook proves the superior success of the un-Established Church in that country, and avows in the preface his belief that Establishments have not worked for the good of religion. We quote in another column, at some length, this great Church historian's remarks upon this subject.

"Rusticus," a well-known pseudonym for a well-known clergyman, has again written to the *Times* upon the administration of the ecclesiastical revenues of the English Church. Remembering the salaries of the bishops, he suggests that, if new bishops are required, they might be provided for by a reduction of the enormous incomes of Canterbury, York, Winchester, and other prelates. He does not believe in the Episcopal order being strengthened, at the suggestion of the Episcopacy itself, by the sacrifice of the Cathedral Establishments, but he enlarges upon the necessity of greater practical exercise of the Episcopal functions. He does not, however, analyse the Cathedral Establishments as such. All Churchmen, indeed, appear to forget the Royal Commission of 1862 upon this subject, which gave some terrible information, and suggested some drastic

measures of reform. It is, however, to be supposed that, as usual, nothing will be done, until it is too late to do anything. What Irish bishop proposed the reform of his Church before the present Bill was introduced? And now!—why, every Irish bishop has been anxious for such a reform all his lifetime!

We see in our Scottish contemporaries that an old friend, and the friend of every Liberal movement, Professor McMichael of Dumfries, has received, under very gratifying circumstances, a very handsome testimonial in acknowledgment of his long and varied public services. We are sorry that Englishmen were, as far as we know, not invited to join in this movement, for Professor McMichael's name is as venerated by Free Churchmen south of the Tweed as it can be by any of his own countrymen. There should, also, have been an Englishman present to testify to that veneration—especially when the moderators of the United Presbyterian, the Free and the Established Churches of Scotland were all present to do honour to so able and so Christian a man. If others were absent, we hope that it will be understood that it was not from want of willingness to be present.

The Sydney correspondent of the *Times* gives information concerning the organisation of the Free Episcopalian Church in the Australian colonies. The Synod of Sydney met on the 6th of April, and continued its sittings until the 17th. One of the subjects discussed was the formation of a general Synod for the whole of Australia, but the discussion upon this point was adjourned for further information. Patronage was also discussed, and the *Times* correspondent says:—"It is strange to observe how circumstances change opinions. Men here, who in England would defend the advowson system, take a widely different view of things." The provisions of the measure on this subject are as follows:—

It is proposed that parishes where there is a parsonage and 800*l.* a year for the clergyman should have the option of nominating their clergyman, or of having him nominated by a Board of Nominators, or that that he should be chosen by the Bishop. The first clause provides that the Synod shall elect the Board of Nominators; the second clause provides that parishes might determine in whom the appointment of the clergyman was to be vested; the third provides for what should be done if in the Board to be constituted by the parish an election should be held; the fourth treats of the duration of office of elected nominators of a parish; the fifth provides who is to present in the case of a vacancy in the incumbency; the sixth provides that if the bishop refuse to appoint a fresh presentation shall be made; the seventh provides for the cases which are to be accepted; and the eighth clause treats of the right of presentation given to persons building and endowing churches.

In the course of the debate the Metropolitan made some remarks in which he said:—"The system of private patronage in England was a very grave evil, and had long been felt as a sore in the side of the Church. The sale of advowsons at home was constantly a matter of serious offence and painful scandal, and any development in that direction here was, he thought, to be anxiously avoided."

Had we not better transport our English bishops for a time, in order that they may be "educated" to views like those of this colonial Metropolitan?

#### DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE IRISH CHURCH BILL.

A great county "Protestant demonstration" against the Irish Church Bill was held in Manchester on Saturday. Crowds came by excursion trains from all parts of Lancashire, and having walked in procession through the streets, assembled in the Pomona Gardens, and listened to about one hundred speeches delivered from eight platforms. The *Standard* says that 200,000 persons walked in the procession; the *Times* reporter estimates the number who passed at a given point to have been about 20,000, but he believes that the numbers were afterwards increased by persons who arrived late by railway, and who instead of joining the procession at the starting place made a short cut to their destination. The excursion tickets, it is stated, were avowedly "sown broadcast" throughout the county, with the determination to have a greater assemblage of people than ever was known. It is asserted that 70,000 special railway tickets for the day were issued, and it is said that the railway companies brought into Manchester a great many more holders of demonstration tickets than there were in all the processions put together. The principal topic of the speeches was the "nefarious" policy of the Premier, and after exhausting the current epithets of "robber," "traitor," and "sacriligious spoliator," some of the speakers proceeded to remark even on the personal appearance of the object of their denunciations. Lord C. J. HAMILTON spoke of "that grim, horrible countenance of his—that sinister expression which overshadows his countenance whenever he alludes to any of the Protestant institutions of this country"; and the Rev. Dr. MASSINGHAM, concurring in this reference to Mr. Gladstone's physiognomy, said:—"If we look at his face, we cannot wonder at the description. If we could only clothe him in a Roman Catholic garb he would make a very good Papist, and then he would appear before us in his true colours." Another speaker, a Mr. WOOD, secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council, said that Judas Iscariot

was a good man compared with Mr. Gladstone. Judas repented himself of the sin he committed, but this man had no signs of repentance in him; he gloried in his shame. The resolutions adopted condemned the bill in the usual terms, and called upon the House of Lords to reject it. A "rider" was added on the motion of Sir J. EASLEY WILMOT, particularly requesting the bishops to vote against the bill. Mr. A. EGERTON, M.P., and Mr. BIRLEY, M.P., were present, but it had been arranged at a party conference in London last week that no member of the House of Commons should make a speech at these meetings to petition the House of Lords, and this rule was observed on Saturday. The *Manchester Guardian* says that a most favourable estimate would only allow 24,000 or 25,000 as the total number of persons in the demonstration of Saturday at the Pomona Gardens.

On Saturday also there was a great open-air demonstration at Liverpool, in a field near Hall-lane, on the eastern outskirts of the town. Taking the different accounts, from 10,000 to 30,000 persons were present. A large platform was erected for the chairman, speakers, and leading members of the committee, some of whom flaunted Orange favours, and one gentleman wore a black scarf with the most cabalistic-looking figures upon it, the idea to be conveyed being that he was in mourning for the Irish Church. Several large lorries were placed in the field to act as platforms if required, and these were all called into use, there being four sets of orators at one time. There was considerable delay before the proceedings commenced, during which the crowd occupied themselves by sending forth heavy groans against "Gladstone" and "Bright," and one Scotchman distinguished himself by shouting out curses against the Duke of Argyll. Mr. EDWARD WHITLEY, an ex-mayor, took the chair on the principal platform, and the speakers included Mr. BURLAND, the chairman of the Liverpool Working Men's Conservative Association; Mr. CHARLES GROVES, one of the most uncompromising of the Conservative Churchmen of Liverpool, and several working men. One of the speakers (a Mr. WILLIAMS), a member of the Working Men's Association, read a poem composed for the occasion, after "Scots, wha hae." Throughout good humour prevailed. The resolutions passed declared that the meeting regarded with indignation and alarm the proposed measure for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, as subversive of our time-honoured constitution in Church and State, injurious to the cause of Protestant truth in the United Kingdom, and destructive to the security of the rights of property, and appealed to the House of Lords to reject the Irish Church Bill, inasmuch as the opinion of the country has not been expressed upon it through the constituencies, and that a measure involving so revolutionary a change in the constitution of the State should not be allowed to become law without more mature consideration. A petition to Parliament based on the resolution was also agreed to.

A demonstration was held on Saturday in the riding school of the Knightsbridge Barracks, Lord George Hamilton, M.P., in the chair. Speeches were made by the chairman, Mr. SPEIGHT (late M.P. for Limerick), Mr. HUME WILLIAMS, Mr. FULTON, the Rev. J. WELDEN, Mr. W. H. SMITH, M.P., and other gentlemen.

Demonstrations were also held during the latter part of the week at Marylebone, Bristol, York, Kidderminster, Huddersfield, Dover, Bolton, Cambridge, and Chester. The resolutions passed at all of them were identical in substance, and the proceedings in most instances were of a very enthusiastic character.

At a meeting held in St. George's Hall, Bradford, Mr. FERRAND in the chair, the Rev. DAVID GRIFFITHS, one of the Wesleyan superintendents of the district, made a violent speech in opposition to the Irish Church Bill, in the course of which he said:—

The bill was a robbery, and not only a robbery, but a burglary, because it not only went into the house, but it took the house away, and, like all other burglaries, it must be done quickly. (Laughter and applause.) A burglar felt that time was money because the day was breaking. (Loud applause.) Well, the victims were opening their eyes, and therefore they said, "Quick, quick!" Like all other burglaries, it was a motley group that supported it. The Commons who were English gentlemen were bewitched by party spirit, they were forbidden to make speeches by Gladstone, Bright, and Lowe, who were coached by Cullen, the demagogue of Ireland; Manning, the apostolic of Westminster, backed up by the arch-thief of Rome. Like all burglaries, the plunder was to be spent in waste; it was for lunatics and idiots; and he thought the members of the present Government had a good claim to half a million. (Applause.) For the first time in the history of Protestantism there was found a Government who would give an answer in the affirmative to the question, "Will a man rob God?" It was Ahab come back. Mr. Gladstone was married to the old hag of Rome, and was preparing for her reception. (Applause.) It was Judas Iscariot come back again; the thief who one day strained at a gnat, and next day swallowed a camel; one day that beautiful Government was screwing and cheese-paring to save 300 pence for the poor, and the next day they would sell Christ and His people and their privileges for thirty pieces of silver. (Loud applause.) Therefore they asked the Lords to come between them and those triple traitors, traitors to the throne, the altar, and the cottage at the same time; they appealed to the Lords, who had always been the friends of the multitude, whatever was said against them. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) They said that they were not beaten; they asked for another round, and if they were fairly beaten they would give in like men. (Hear, hear.) They looked to the Lords, who had fought and bled for the country before those skip-jack legislators were thought of; they appealed to them in the name of honest old England, in the name of honest old Abraham, if they liked, who would not take



so much as the shoe latchet that belonged to another; in the name of the God of Justice, who hates robbery for sacrifice: they asked them to come between them for a while, to let them express their sentiments, and show that they were worthy of their forefathers, who fought and shed their blood for what was their life, and to save them from being a reproach amongst the nations of the earth, and from the cry of the Protestants of Ireland, because, if they were insulted and oppressed, as was intended, it would bring the judgment of God upon the land. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

On the same evening there was a counter-demonstration at Bradford, in the shape of an open-air meeting in favour of the Irish Church, which was attended by about 10,000 persons. Hearty speeches were made in favour of the Government, and great enthusiasm prevailed.

In the course of a long speech at a Conservative banquet at Leamington, on Wednesday night, Mr. GATHORNE HARDY said the Irish Church Bill was a concession to Fenianism. On the prospects of the bill in the Lords, he said it seemed to be expected that the members of the Upper House should accept the decision of the Commons, and bow their heads like bulrushes without rising in resistance to anything that had been done.

The bill now went up to the House of Lords, after the ineffectual efforts of the Conservatives in the House of Commons, in all its deformity, iniquity, and injustice. It was not the time to say what would be done in that House; but of this he was convinced, that it would be honestly and fairly discussed, and that those who took any part in respect to it would speak openly before the country as men who had a moral responsibility, and by the verdict of the country he knew they must eventually stand or fall. But if the House of Lords were to accept any measure, without discussion, that passed the House of Commons by large majorities, abnegating all their rights, and silencing the convictions of their minds, there was not a man among them who would wish to be a peer on such terms. It was not for him to say what course the House of Lords would take, but whatever it might be he should be prepared to accept it as a conscientious and constitutional decision, rendered in the face of their country, and before their own consciences, and one, therefore, which the country should receive with respect and deference. Let no one be persuaded this was a conflict between the two Houses, even though it was one between two principles—let no one think the House of Lords wanted to enter upon a conflict with the House of Commons. He hoped no such cry as "up with the one House and down with the other" would ever be heard, but that each House would exercise the prerogatives it was entrusted with, and that as with the Crown so with the Houses, if the rights of any one were overborne the country would rise in defence of those rights.

A great meeting was held in the Dublin Exhibition Palace on Monday night to support the Peers in their opposition to the Irish Church Bill. The building was crowded, over 20,000 persons being present. Sir Edward Grogan presided at one of the platforms. Very strong speeches against the bill were made by the Rev. Mr. Foley, the Hon. David Plunkett, Archdeacon Gould, and the Rev. Maurice Neligan.

A great open air meeting has also been held at Omagh, County Tyrone. The assembly was addressed as "United Protestants." The chairman is reported to have observed:—

I have seen a picture entitled, "The Cause of England's greatness." Our Protestant Queen is presenting a Bible to an ambassador from the King of Nubia, and asking him to tell his royal master that a free Bible was the secret of England's greatness. Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, two of her Ministers, are standing by her, approving of the noble sentiment. I would warn her Majesty to take care lest there be not a companion picture painted in these days portraying the secret of England's downfall; and I would warn Mr. Gladstone also, and tell him that he is rapidly driving the country into anarchy, for I am certain that the people of England will not quietly allow the overthrow of truth in this island.

One of the resolutions boasted that the Irish Church had been preserved free from "every taint of Ritualism." With reference to a transfer of the cathedrals, the Rev. Dr. Smith said:—"If ever such an outrage were to be impending, I think that the spirit of the men who lived when the seven bishops were tried in the days of James II. may still be in existence." He described the bill as a "penal law against Protestants." He closed with the prayer that "Almighty God might guide and strengthen the peers of the realm, and the good and gracious Sovereign herself at this great crisis." The other speakers, with one exception, were clergymen. Captain Auchincloss, J.P., condemned "waverers and neutrals," and gave the cry of "No compromise; no surrender," which was taken up and repeated with sustained shouts of approval.

The taste and temper of the Irish Orangemen do not improve with time; at one of their meetings the Rev. LESLIE CARTER said:—

If Barrett was executed for blowing up a prison, the time might not be far distant when for attempting to blow up our venerable Protestant Constitution Gladstone and his "co-conspirators" might be hanging as high as Haman.

In reply to a deputation of Irish gentlemen now in London, Mr. Disraeli has expressed his warm sympathy with their desire that the Irish Church Bill should be defeated.

At a meeting of the Edinburgh Presbytery, on Friday, it was agreed by a majority of thirteen to three to petition the House of Lords to reject the Irish Church Bill.

Notwithstanding the vigour of the demonstrations against the Irish Church Bill, its supporters throughout the country remain, for the present, remarkably quiet. Mr. Edmond Beales writes to the *Star*, stating that if called upon, and if no abler man presents him-

self, he is willing to take part in a movement for the purpose of demonstrating that there has been no reaction, as alleged, but that the popular mind is more resolute than ever upon national justice being done to Ireland. At a meeting held in Manchester, it was resolved, in the event of the Irish Church Bill being rejected, to reorganise the Reform League, and agitate for an organic change in the House of Lords. Newcastle will also, if needs be, hold a great mass meeting on the Town Moor. The National Reform Union are making preliminary preparations for a vigorous agitation in case the Lords should reject the bill. All the branch associations, numbering between 300 and 400, have been communicated with, and are ready to co-operate with the central executive at a moment's notice.

A town's meeting on the subject of the Irish Church Bill was held on Monday evening, in the Town Hall, Birmingham. Every part of the spacious hall was crowded with an excited and enthusiastic audience. The Mayor (Alderman Holland) occupied the chair. The following letter from Mr. Bright was read:—

London, June 9, 1869.

Dear Sir,—I must ask my friends to excuse me if I am unable to accept their invitation for the meeting on Monday next. The Lords are not very wise, but there is sometimes profit to the people even in their unwisdom. If they should delay the passing of the Irish Church Bill for three months, they will stimulate discussion on important questions which, but for their infatuation, might have slumbered for many years. It is possible that a good many people may ask what is the special value of a Constitution which gives a majority of one hundred in one House for a given policy, and a majority of one hundred in another House against it. It may be asked also why the Crown, through its Ministers in the House of Commons, should be found in harmony with the nation, whilst the Lords are generally in direct opposition to it. Instead of doing a little obdurate tinkering about life-peersages, it would be well if the peers could bring themselves on a line with the opinions and necessities of our day. In harmony with the nation they may go on for a long time, but throwing themselves athwart its course, they may meet with accidents not pleasant for them to think of. But there are not a few good and wise men among the peers, and we will hope their counsels may prevail. I am sure you will forgive me if I cannot come to your meeting.

Believe me always, very truly yours,

JOHN BRIGHT.

Mr. H. B. S. Thompson, Secretary, Birmingham Liberal Association.

The first resolution, moved by Mr. THOMAS LLOYD, and seconded by Mr. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, was as follows:—

That this meeting is of opinion that the Irish Church Bill, introduced by her Majesty's Ministers, being wise in policy and just in principle, and having passed the House of Commons by large majorities in accordance with the national will, as declared at the late general election, ought speedily to become law.

Mr. SAMUEL S. LLOYD, the unsuccessful candidate in the Conservative interest at the late election, rose to move an amendment, but a terrible tumult arose, and two hours elapsed without a single sentence being heard. Mr. Lloyd was at length obliged to sit down, without obtaining a hearing. He and his friends protested energetically that they had been unfairly treated. The resolution was then put, and carried by a large majority. Shortly afterwards the meeting terminated. Mr. Murphy, the anti-Romanist lecturer, announced that he would be present at the meeting; but he was arrested on presenting himself at the hall, and locked up to prevent a breach of the peace.

#### DEAN HOOK ON DISESTABLISHMENT.

In the preface to his recently published lecture on the Disestablished Church in the United States, Dr. Hook, the Dean of Winchester, makes some important remarks on the relation of Church and State. We quote the following:—

The Church has received a mission from its Divine Head; and whether protected by the State or persecuted by the civil authorities, that mission, through evil report, or through good report, it will discharge. The object that the Church has in view is not, except incidentally, to act as a teacher of morality; her business is to proclaim the glad tidings, that for fallen man—for man, by nature in a state of damnation, a Saviour has been provided Almighty to save; and that, for the Heaven opened to penitent mankind the Holy Spirit will prepare the souls of all, who seek for His sanctification through the means of grace, which no power on earth can prevent the Church from administering. The question, then, for the Churchman to ask, is simply this—Are we assisted or impeded in the discharge of our mission by an alliance of the Church with the civil institutions of the country?

I confess that, after a long course of Patristic studies, at the commencement of my professional career, I came to the conclusion that an alliance between Church and State, if regard be had simply and solely to our immediate object, is by no means an advantage to the Church. I speak with diffidence, since many who are my superiors in every sense of the word, have arrived at an opposite conclusion; but I cannot but remember that it was before the time of Constantine that the Primitive Church abounded with saints and martyrs; while in the following lecture it has been shown that the Anglo-Catholic Church in the United States of America has, since its disconnection with the State, been able to preach the truth and the whole truth as it is in Jesus, with a vigour and zeal which it has been the policy of the State antecedently to repress; and that while providing the means of grace for the home population, her missions to the heathen, previously neglected, have at the same time been such as to provoke the Church of England herself to greater exertions. If life and health be spared, I hope to show that similar success has attended the exertion of Churchmen in those colonies in which, though not discovered from the mother-country, the Church has been freed from the trammels

of the State, and has been restored to primitive freedom of action.

The action of the Church, it will be seen in the following lecture, was impeded in America by its connection with the State; and on referring, as has just been said, to the debates in the House of Commons, we find that the power of thus impeding the legitimate operations of the Church has been adduced by advocates of Establishments as one of the great advantages resulting from its alliance with the State. These establishmentarians have asserted truly that, in the discharge of its mission, the Church may have to act in defiance of the civil authorities—the secular Government of the country. The Puritans, in the time of Charles I., and the Huguenots in France, were wrong in having recourse to the weapons of a carnal warfare, but in their resistance to the Government they acted on the Christian principle. The Christian will preach, he must preach that Saviour whom the world must hate, because the fact of His being a Saviour implies the world's condemnation. Woe were it to the Christian were he not to preach Christ crucified, when and wherever God provides the opportunity. He may, as the Divine Author of Christianity has declared, be obliged to "set a man at variance with his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law"; however much he may deplore his fate, and exclaim with the prophet, "Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me, a man of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth," still he must preach the Gospel, even though by so doing he sends "not peace on earth, but a sword." We may lament the fact, but there it is, a fact undeniable; and therefore, the advocates for establishments in the nineteenth century applaud what was done by the Walpoles and the Newcastles of the eighteenth century, and urge as a recommendation of religious establishments, that they tend to enslave the preachers of the Gospel, compelling them to preach not true things, but smooth things. Let them be tied and bound, only let the links of their chain be of gold; let the breath be trampled out of the Church's body, only let her lie, meantime, on a bed of roses; let there be an irresistible, if not an infallible Head, provided that this supreme Head hath not his abode on the Seven Hills. Certainly we may say—

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,  
Tempus eget.

At the close of the lecture Dr. Hook further says:—

From what has been advanced in this lecture, you will perceive that the question of establishing or of disestablishing a church in any portion of the British Empire, is a question to the consideration of which we ought to approach not as Churchmen, but as statesmen. If we look to the Church, it has its own duty to perform, to win men to Christ. At one time, this duty may be best performed where the Church is fostered by the State; at another, when the State sees fit to persecute the Church. I fully believe that, in Ireland, the Church will accomplish more good by being disestablished, than under the circumstances of an Establishment she can ever hope to effect. The first step in our progress must be to gain, by the sacrifice not of principle, but of wealth and station, the good will of the people. If our disestablishment will conduce to peace, in God's name, let not the preachers of the Gospel of Peace offer any impediment. As in America so in Ireland, I am convinced, that the Anglo-Catholic Church will flourish in the end, because I believe that it is the banner of truth which she unfurls; but success will be the result of patient suffering, as well as of energetic exertion.

I am aware that the same principles here adduced may be brought to bear in favour of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England. I trust that, if it shall be decided, at any future period, that it is for the good of the country that the Church shall be disestablished in England, the clergy will preach the Gospel to the nation by an exhibition of their disinterestedness, as well as by their zeal.

The report that the Bishop of Winchester is about to resign his see is denied.

EARL SPENCER.—The Church papers have been circulating a malicious and preposterous rumour that the Lord Lieutenant and Countess Spencer are about to go over to the Church of Rome.

RELIGIOUS EQUALITY IN THE WEST INDIES.—In Grenada the House of Assembly is about to legislate on a petition from the Catholic clergy for the removal of invidious distinctions between the different religious persuasions in the colony.

It is stated that, at the private meeting of the National Society on Tuesday, a resolution of Canon Melville's, to the effect that the way to secure free admission of children of Dissenters to Church schools is to admit a Conscience Clause, was rejected by 20 to 6.

The Archdeacon of Rochester, in his visitation charge at Hertford on Friday, said he looked upon the abolition of compulsory Church-rates without regret, believing that it would tend to make laymen more sensible of the responsibility which rested upon them, and to unite the clergy and the laity more heartily in doing the Church's work.

THE RITUAL COMMISSION.—The Ritual Commissioners, according to the *John Bull*, have agreed to a report on the Lectionary, in the consideration of which they have been engaged for some time. They have prepared an extra table of lessons for use at evensong on Sundays, have changed many lessons for holidays, leaving only first four lessons from the Apocrypha, and about forty-seven for daily service. The Books of Chronicles are to be read, the lessons curtailed, and the divisions of chapters not always followed. The Gospels and the Acts are to be read once in the year at evening prayer, and the Revelation in Advent.

THE REV. C. H. SPURGEON, in his Sunday evening sermon, made some allusion to the question of the day. He anticipates the rejection of the Irish Church Bill, which he likened to "the great ones of the earth setting themselves against Christ and his Crown." He continued, "Perhaps it was well that they had to wait awhile, for they might achieve but



one purpose now, whereas a little pausing would set them on greater designs and nobler aims. There was one Church to be set free in Ireland, and if it were not done quickly another should be set free in England. Liberty and religious equality should be proclaimed here as well as there, and that all the sooner because of the delay."

**THE RECTOR OF WHITBY AND THE IRISH CHURCH BILL.**—The Rev. W. Keane, the rector of Whitby, it will be remembered, obtained considerable notoriety at the last general election by the vehemence with which he opposed Mr. W. H. Gladstone. He published political "pastorals," held prayer-meetings in his church, invoked the aid of a kindred spirit—Mr. Brown Grant—and altogether demeaned himself in a most extraordinary manner. During the past week the rev. gentleman has been busy getting up a petition to the House of Lords against what he terms the "Church Plunder Bill"; and on Saturday, being market-day at Whitby, he set up a stall in the market-place, where he spread out his petition, exhorting, in impassioned harangues, all who passed by to sign their names. The stall occupied a position near to the place where cheap John and mountebanks usually hold forth.—*Leeds Mercury*.

**THE IRISH PRESBYTERIAN ASSEMBLY AGAINST "LEVELLING UP."**—At the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church on Friday, the Rev. O. L. Morell read the report of the committee appointed the previous day to confer with the Endowment Committee upon the instructions to be given to the latter for their guidance during the ensuing year. The report recommends that the instructions of the previous year be renewed, with an addition to the fact that, in the event of any proposal being made for the endowment of error, the committee shall give it their most strenuous opposition. The Rev. Mr. Macnaughton seconded the motion. The Rev. J. G. Robb moved, and the Rev. Mr. Corkey seconded, an amendment substituting the phrase "levelling up" for "endowment of error," but as several members objected to the use of a mere political phrase in an ecclesiastical document, Mr. Robb withdrew his amendment, and the motion passed by acclamation.

**A NOVEL EXPEDIENT.**—The walls of Belfast were on Wednesday covered with "Protestant placards," announcing that arrangements were being made to convey all opponents of the Irish Church Bill who wished to go to "London or the Crystal Palace" (a droll alternative) at very reduced rates—something considerably less than single fares for return tickets. No doubt many persons will gladly avail themselves of the chance of such a cheap trip to "London or the Crystal Palace," but how the proceeding is to promote the Protestant cause and defeat the Church Bill is not quite clear. Is it intended to terrify Mr. Gladstone by letting loose a horde of wild Protestants on London? The idea of sustaining the Tory Peers by sending Ulster excursionists to the Crystal Palace is very funny. One interpretation of this queer move is not a pleasant one, however; if such a project has any connection with any idea of intimidation, the hint may be taken by "the other side," and in that case the Ulster excursionists may find themselves terrifically outnumbered, and not very comfortable. There is a delightful absurdity about the project which is characteristic of our stupid friend, "the Belfast Tory."—*Northern Whig*.

**THE PREMIER AND THE IRISH CHURCH.**—At an open-air meeting, held in Bradford on Thursday evening in support of the Irish Church Bill, a resolution was passed approving of the course taken by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. A copy of the resolution was forwarded to the Premier, and he has sent the following reply:—

10, Downing-street, June 13, 1869.

Sir,—I have had the honour to receive the resolution passed at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Bradford on the 10th. So far as that resolution refers to myself personally, I accept the communication with respectful gratitude. So far as it expresses the sense of the great community of Bradford with reference to the Irish Church Bill, I regard it as giving utterance in words to that deep and intelligent conviction to which the nation gave by its acts, at the time of the general election, the most authoritative constitutional expression, and which, I believe, it still cherishes with unabated confidence and resolution.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your faithful servant,  
W. E. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Councillor Boothroyd.

**A BAD PRECEDENT FOR THE LORDS.**—The *Daily News* remarks that a precedent for the course which it is hoped that the House of Lords will take has been sought for in the rejection by that assembly, in 1783, of the India Bill of Mr. Fox, which had passed the House of Commons by large majorities. How this result was accomplished is a matter of notoriety. The King gave Lord Temple a written message, which he was ordered to show to hesitating peers, informing them that he should consider those who voted for the bill—the bill of his own constitutional Ministers—"not only not his friends, but his enemies." A majority of the peers were base enough to yield to the menace, and his Majesty completed the *coup d'état* by dismissing his Ministers in spite of their large majority in the House of Commons. The whole transaction is a by-word in our constitutional history; it is one of the worst incidents of one of its worst periods. The precedent, however, if it were less shameful, would still fail in every particular. While retaining its forms, the substance and spirit of our Constitution have been revolutionised since the time of George III. The popular power can be scarcely said to have existed in the eighteenth century. Such as they were, the electoral bodies had not been consulted on the India Bill. The then most recent general election had

taken place years before. The balance between the popular, the aristocratic, and the rural power, and the relations of the constituencies to the country and to the House of Commons, are the precise reverse now of what they were then. The *Daily News* will not attribute to the Peers the blindness which cannot see the difference, or the obstinacy which will prevent their practically acknowledging it. They can gain nothing except a moment's exultation, very dearly bought, by throwing out the Irish Church Bill.

**THE IRISH CHURCH BILL AND THE BIBLE SOCIETY.**—The Rev. Dr. Booth, vicar of Stone, near Aylesbury, in a letter to the secretary of the local auxiliary of the Bible Society, which appeared in the *Aylesbury News*, gave his reasons for declining to attend as usual, being a "Liberal clergyman," the annual meeting of the society at Bishopstoke. He declined to meet on the common platform of the Bible Society with Dissenters, on account of their action in support of the Irish Church Bill. A letter in the *Bucks Advertiser*, commenting on the subject, says:—"What in the world has the support of the Bible Society to do with the Irish Church Bill? Dr. Booth says that the 'Roman Catholics of Ireland abhor Dissent,' and why? because it is the most deadly foe of Romanism, while the Anglican Church, to say nothing of the Popery in it, has ever shown its hereditary inclination to excuse Popery—and give no quarter to Dissent. Let not Popery be mentioned as at all relevant to the subject. I have often delighted in seeing Churchmen and Dissenters meet once a year on the common platform of advocacy of the Bible Society, yet at the same time could not fail to observe the cropping up of the haughtiness of the Churchman, and the jealousy, sometimes the despicable truckling, of the Dissenter. Dr. Booth has not only libelled himself as a Christian man, and lowered his order, but placed a taunt within reach of the common enemy of religion."

**THE PRIMATE AND THE CHURCH ASSOCIATION.**—A deputation from the Church Association waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury last week to present a memorial on the subject of the recent decision in the case of Martin v. Mackonochie. Among those present were Lord Fitzwaller, Mr. J. C. Colquhoun, Mr. Newdegate, M.P., Mr. R. O. L. Bevan, and Mr. Martin, the plaintiff in the late suit. Mr. Colquhoun, who was the spokesman of the deputation, assured his grace that there was a very strong sympathy on the part of the laity with the proceedings of the association. He added that they intended to institute, with the full sanction of the bishop, a prosecution against the Rev. Mr. Pugh, and the Bishop of London had approved of a similar course being adopted with reference to a clergyman in his diocese. His grace, in reply, said that a charge had been made against the association, that it represented a party, but in his opinion it had merely to considerable cost endeavoured to ascertain the Church law upon certain points of discipline. He thought there could now be no difficulty in putting the law into effect; the great difficulty hitherto existing, namely, the uncertainty, having been removed. It was the characteristic of Englishmen that they were anxious to obey the law; that anxiety was, he believed, shared equally by clergy and laity, and he trusted in the good sense and good feeling of the clergy to prevent unnecessary troubles. His grace also said that he had great sympathy with earnestness and liberty, but none with any acts which tended to make the Church of England different from what it was made at the Reformation and what the vast majority of the Churchmen of the nation wished to be.

**EXEMPTION OF SUNDAY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS FROM RATING.**—A conference of members of Parliament with metropolitan and provincial delegates was held on Thursday at the Westminster Palace Hotel, Mr. Charles Reed, M.P., in the chair. Among those present were Mr. Birley, M.P., M. Hibbert, M.P., Mr. R. A. Cross, M.P., Mr. M'Clure, M.P., Sir Harcourt Johnstone, M.P., Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P., Mr. Barnes, M.P., Mr. Armistead, M.P., Mr. Bowring, M.P., Mr. C. Turner, M.P., Mr. Muniz, M.P., Mr. Tipping, M.P., Mr. Dimdale, M.P., Mr. M'Arthur, M.P., the Hon. W. Egerton, and gentlemen representing Sunday and ragged schools in all parts of the kingdom. The Chairman said it must be admitted by all present that the feeling of the present Parliament should be ascertained as to the best means of securing the success of the Sunday and Ragged Schools Rating Exemption Bill. The Government would, doubtless, interpose obstacles, but by unanimous action these might be overcome. As many as 480 petitions, signed by 40,000 persons, had been presented in favour of the bill, which stood for second reading on next Wednesday, and he had no doubt that by that time as many more would have echoed the same prayer. The recent decision of the courts making Sunday-schools liable to rating had come by surprise on their managers. Some of the Sunday-schools were still exempt, being connected with churches and chapels. Mr. Birley, M.P., said that taxing these schools was taxing the benevolence and philanthropy of the country. Mr. Wright, of Birmingham, thought elementary schools should also be exempted, but the feeling of the conference was in favour of not at present going further than it was attempted by the bill to do. Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P., recommended that a deputation should wait on the Secretary of State; but many other members of Parliament thought the matter must be settled in Parliament, and it was best to take the opinion of the House of Commons. The chairman said that many of the ragged-schools must be closed if called upon to pay rates; and Mr. Gent said that taking the rate upon seventeen of these schools as a basis of calculation, the total rate of the London

ragged-schools would be 3,000*l.* a year. It was a generally expressed feeling of the speakers that the exemption would tend to decrease the general poor-rates, and all who spoke were in favour of the measure. The conference concluded with a vote of thanks to the chairman. The bill in favour of exemption stands for second reading in the House of Commons this day.

**THE CONSERVATIVE PEERS IN 1868 AND IN 1869.**—A correspondent calls our attention to the language used by Lord Cairns in the debate on the Established Church (Ireland) Bill, or as it is called the Suspensory Bill, introduced by Mr. Gladstone last session, and passed by large majorities through the House of Commons. The noble and learned lord, after describing the vast issues involved in the measure, spoke as follows:—

These are the issues involved in your lordships' decision now, and they are the issues yet to be presented to the country in the great appeal to its enlarged constituencies. My lords, in that appeal—for I agree with the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) that it is fitting that a government should uphold a standard of political faith—in that great appeal the Government will stand as the defenders of all that this bill and the policy of its promoters would seek to overthrow. By the result of that appeal we are prepared to abide; and, my lords, be the result what it may—and I, for one, have confidence in the true heart and faith of the country—a nobler cause for which to fight, a fairer field in which to stand or fall, no Minister and no statesman need desire.

We take these words from Hansard, by whose reports Parliamentary orators are, to use Lord Cairns's phrase, generally "prepared to abide." Lord Derby, the Duke of Marlborough, and other Conservative leaders, spoke more or less explicitly in the same sense as Lord Cairns. Lord Derby, appealing in terms from the decision of a dying House of Commons to a new Parliament, and anticipating the general election which then impended, declared the habitual desire of the House of Lords to yield to the deliberately-expressed and well-ascertained opinions of the country.

For my own part (he added), I may say that it must be a very decided expression of opinion to alter my judgment on such a question as this; but we should, I think, be simply prejudging the case, and dealing unjustly not only by ourselves, but unjustly by the people of this country, if, before we know what is the opinion of the country, we were at once to adopt the course proposed to us by the Lower House.

It is quite clear that when Lord Derby used this language he had not invented the distinction on which he has since fallen back between the country and the constituencies, a distinction which Lord Cairns's language expressly bars; and that he submitted the question to the polling booths. The "very decided expression of opinion" to which Lord Derby intimated that he would probably refer, did not, we venture to think, even in the moments of his darkest forebodings, take the shape of a Parliamentary majority averaging a hundred and fifteen.—*Daily News*.

**THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AS A MISSIONARY CHURCH.**—In the late Irish Church debate Mr. Gladstone spoke of the moral majesty exhibited by the Free Church of Scotland after she had been stripped of her endowment. Sir J. D. Elphinstone, in a published letter, asked contemptuously if a Church with some of its ministers starving on 90*l.* a year could be described as majestic. A correspondent of the *Daily News* has the following comments on the subject:—It is true that the Free Church has never succeeded in getting the average from its ordinary "sustentation fund" of Dr. Chalmers above 150*l.*; and it is acknowledged by all that that is the "dividend" given this year and last, while particular congregations, as Mr. Miller showed, increase the income of their own ministers to 300*l.* or 600*l.* But it is also true that if the Free Church had been content with the mere burden of a National Church thrown upon her in 1843—with supporting all the ministers and keeping up the congregations then taken charge of, and, in addition, with supporting her missionaries in foreign parts (every one of whom, with Dr. Duff at their head, were turned out of their mission-houses and deprived of their salaries for adhering to the Church at home)—in that case the minimum would have been considerably above this 150*l.* The reason why it has never risen above that amount, is this, the Free Church, rightly or wrongly, has become a missionary church at home. Men like Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Guthrie, becoming acquainted with what they called the "moral heathenism" of our great cities, raised a cry of pain, and the result was the establishment of mission churches in great towns, and in the vicinage of crowded populations, many of which, like those following upon the West Port Church in Edinburgh, and the Wynd Church in Glasgow, have, by the confession of all, been very models of energetic and successful Christian work. Now, here is a fact for Sir James Elphinstone. It has been found impossible to give all these struggling and new churches at first the "equal dividend" of 150*l.*, and in many cases the ministers of the new charges, often the flower of the youth of the Free Church, have had to contend with great difficulties. Sir James taunts them with this, and it is all true. The Free Church cannot deny it. It has presumptuously attempted to do more than keep up its own framework, and it has instituted missions at home with the most signal success. But with all its liberality specially directed to this great work, the work is greater than it (and the other two Presbyterian Churches working along with it) can meet; and the masses of men and women unclaimed and uncared for are so huge and increasing, as almost to overwhelm its multiplying, and therefore impoverished, mission stations.



## Religious and Denominational Notes.

**STRAFORD-ON-AVON.**—The Rev. M. J. Evans, B.A., has signified his intention of closing his ministry at Rother-street Chapel, on Sunday next, June 20th.

**CHESHUNT COLLEGE ANNIVERSARY.**—Our readers will learn from our advertising columns that the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown is to preach at the Cheshunt College anniversary festival on Thursday, 24th instant.

**DULWICH.**—About a year ago, the church at West Dulwich undertook the work of liquidating a debt of 450*l.*, and erecting a new school and lecture-hall. Both these objects have been accomplished. The new building cost about 890*l.*, and was opened by the pastor, the Rev. Walter Hardie, B.A., on the 18th of February last. Just then his health failed, and during the past three months he has been travelling in Italy and the East. On Thursday evening last, the congregation met to welcome him on his return, when, after acknowledging the goodness of God in preserving them in unbroken harmony, and thanking them for the liberality with which they had provided for the maintenance of public worship, and contributed to his expenditure, he gave an account of his recent visit to Jerusalem and its environs.

**SPRING-HILL COLLEGE.**—The committee of Spring-hill College, Birmingham, have unanimously invited the Rev. D. W. Simon, Ph.D., of Berlin, to the Chair of Theology, vacant by the lamented death of the Rev. G. Bubier. "His long residence in Germany," says the *English Independent*, "and his intimacy with some of its best modern theologians, have given him a thorough mastery of the great questions which are now agitating the religious world, and made him thoroughly conversant with the opinions both of the old and new schools. His translation of Dörner's great work of Christology, his ecclesiastical articles and notices of German works in the *British Quarterly* and in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, of which he is a recognised contributor, give abundant evidence both of scholarship and original power of thought. Dr. Simon, however, is no mere doctrinaire, recluse, or theorist. This is proved by the ability and prudence with which, for a good many years, he has represented the British and Foreign Bible Society in Germany, and by the success with which he has inaugurated and worked Sunday-schools and an institution for the Christian instruction of cabmen in Berlin."

**FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH, ST. MARTIN'S-LE-GRAND.**—We are glad to learn that this venerable institution will no longer be the subject of legal dissension and discord. In consequence of a letter received from the Rev. G. G. Daugars, the consistory, headed by the Rev. Th. Marziale, invited the former gentleman to a meeting held in their vestry last Friday, which was animated throughout by a Christian and conciliating spirit. In the interests of this important church both parties agreed to overlook the past, and in future to co-operate cordially in their respective duties. The consistory passed a resolution to the effect that the Rev. G. G. Daugars should occupy the pulpit of St. Martin's-le-Grand the morning of the third Sunday in this month, and resume his ministerial office in conjunction with the Rev. Th. Marziale. Every one will rejoice at so happy a termination to a most unfortunate state of things, and the friends of the church will more especially look forward to it as a renewed means of good now that peace is restored, and that its ministers can devote all their zeal, eloquence, and abilities to the furtherance of its interests, which can scarcely be too highly estimated, since it is the only French Protestant Church in London, where it has existed from the time of the Reformation.—*From a Correspondent.*

**FINCHINGFIELD.**—Services in connection with the recognition of the Rev. Joseph L. Collins were held on Thursday, May 27, in the Congregational Chapel, Finchingfield. In the morning the Rev. J. C. Rook, of Thaxted, read the Scriptures and offered prayer. The Rev. E. Jones, of Ipswich, delivered the introductory discourse on Church Principles. Mr. G. D. Linsell, one of the deacons, gave an account of the circumstances which had brought Mr. Collins into their midst. The Rev. S. Steer, of Castle Hedingham, then asked the questions, which were satisfactorily answered by the young minister. The Rev. W. Cuthbertson, B.A., of Bishop Stortford, offered the recognition prayer. A letter expressing sympathy and interest was read from the Rev. H. R. Reynolds, D.D., of Cheshunt College. The Rev. H. Allon, of Islington, delivered the charge to the minister, and the Rev. G. B. Ryley, of Bocking, concluded the service with prayer. In the evening the devotional service was conducted by the Rev. T. G. Wilson, of Halstead, and the Rev. John Raven, of Ipswich, preached the sermon to the people. The Rev. I. Irvine, of Dunmow, the Rev. A. T. Osborne, I. Perry, Esq., of Chelmsford, and Mr. J. Gatward, of Stanbourne, also took part in the proceedings of the day.

**DARLINGTON.**—About a year ago, the Congregational church, Union-street, Darlington (the Rev. H. Kendall, pastor), sent a unanimous "call" to the Rev. J. I. Hillocks, inviting him to become one of the ministers, especially to take the oversight of the preaching stations connected with that church. Ultimately, it was perceived that it would be well that his efforts should be confined chiefly to the north end of the town, where there is a large population of ironworkers. This step led to the formation of what in future is to be known as the "North-end Congregational Church." A special meeting was held on Thursday evening, at the usual place of worship, Albert-road, for this purpose. The Rev. H. Kendall, and other office-bearers of Union-street Church, were present to bid God-speed to the new cause.

After the resolutions in relation to the formation of this new church were adopted, Mr. Kendall in the name of the church read the "call," which, as he said, had been unanimously adopted by that church, inviting Mr. Hillocks to become the pastor. To this hearty invitation Mr. Hillocks gave a ready consent. The meeting was afterwards addressed by Mr. Kendall and others.

**WHITFIELD'S TABERNACLE.—OPENING SERVICES.**—On June the 10th, 1753, the celebrated George Whitfield preached the opening sermons for the then New Tabernacle, Moorfields. This has since been entirely removed, and on Thursday, on very nearly the same site, another structure of more durable materials, though much less spacious, was opened, the Rev. Dr. Raleigh preaching in the morning, and the Rev. H. Allon, of Islington, in the evening. Between the services lunch and tea were served in the Shoreditch Town Hall. The new buildings are to cost 7,000*l.*, of which some 4,500*l.* have been raised. Great credit was given both to the architect and builder for the construction of the building, and liberal collections were made at the close of the services. The Rev. W. Grigsby (the pastor) presided at the afternoon meeting, and referred eulogistically to the sermon of the morning in proposing the health of the preacher. To this Dr. Raleigh pleasantly responded; after which a verse of "God Save the Queen" was sung, and the Revs. W. Tyler and C. Dukes addressed the company in reference to the part taken in the construction of the edifice by the London Congregational Chapel-building Society. Letters of apology for non-attendance were read from S. Morley, Esq., M.P., and the Rev. T. Binney; and among those present we noticed the Revs. T. Aveling, Principal McAll (who offered the dedicatory prayer), S. Pearsall, A. McAnlane, J. Boyle, G. M. Murphy, G. Knaggs, G. McAll, D. Grigsby, &c., &c.

**THE LATE REV. D. MILTON DAVIES, OF LLANYFYLLIN.**—This faithful and much esteemed minister of the Congregational church at Pendre, Llanfyllin, died at his residence, at Bachio-place, on Monday evening, June 7, after a lingering illness; and in the forty-second year of his age, and the sixteenth of his public ministry. He was educated for the ministry at Brecon College, and settled at Hay, in Radnorshire, in 1853, where he laboured for nearly twelve months, to advance the English cause in that place. He then received the unanimous call of the churches at Wern and Penycae, Cardiganshire, to become their pastor, and settled there in the year 1854. His ministry proved to be eminently successful. He built a new chapel at Penycae, which he saw cleared of its debt, and filled with attentive hearers. On the death of the late Rev. D. Morgan, of Llanfyllin, the friends at Pendre Chapel unanimously invited him to the pastorate of that church. He began his labours in Llanfyllin, November, 1858, and was very successful as a preacher and minister. "He was a good and devout man, and feared God above many." His remains were interred at Pendre Cemetery, June 11th, when all the county ministers (two only unavoidably absent) attended to pay the last tribute of respect to one of the most faithful and earnest of ministers. The funeral was a public one, and a large number of friends had collected together on the occasion. Mr. Davies was agent of the "Liberation Society" in North Wales, and was one of its most conscientious advocates.—*From a Correspondent.*

**METHODIST NEW CONNEXION CONFERENCE.**—The annual conference of this denomination was opened at Salem Chapel, Halifax, on Monday, by the Rev. C. Hibbert, the retiring president. After devotional exercises, the Rev. W. Baggaly proposed Dr. Cooke as President of the Connexion for the ensuing year. Dr. Stacey nominated the Rev. A. M'Curdy. Eventually the choice fell upon Dr. Cooke, who was elected by a majority of two votes (fifty-five to fifty-three). At the afternoon session the newly-elected President delivered an address, in which he referred to the present condition of the religious world, and urged that, surrounded as we were by formalism, ritualism, and Popery, we must stand by our Protestant principles. He believed that a deeper baptism of the Holy Spirit was what was most needed; and he urged upon them to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints. A number of suggestions from the annual committee were then considered; and, after a long discussion, it was agreed that reporters should be admitted to the open sessions of the conference. The Rev. H. Downes proposed that a memorial be sent to the House of Lords in favour of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church. The Rev. F. W. Bourne, a representative from the Bible Christians, was then introduced, and cordially received by the assembly. The annual missionary meeting was held in Hanover Chapel, on Monday evening, under the presidency of Mr. J. Marsden, of Bolton, the report being read by the Rev. S. Hulme, missionary secretary, and interesting addresses delivered by several ministers and laymen.

**NORTHAM.**—For some time past the Rev. T. A. Clarke has been successfully labouring in connection with the church at Northam, North Devon. It has been felt desirable to attempt the erection of a larger place of worship. By the energetic exertions of the minister, many of the obstacles in the way of such an undertaking having been surmounted, a few weeks ago the erection of a new chapel was commenced, and on Wednesday, June 9th, the memorial stone was laid by H. O. Wills, Esq., of Bristol. At three o'clock a goodly number had assembled to witness the interesting ceremony. After a hymn had been sung and prayer offered, suitable passages of Scripture were read by the Rev. T. A. Clark, pastor of the church. Mr. Wills then gave an effective address, after which he proceeded to lay the stone.

The Rev. W. Clarkson, of Bideford, offered the consecration prayer, and an address from the Rev. R. A. Bertram, of Barnstaple, on "Getting and Giving," concluded the proceedings. A public tea at five o'clock was provided in a tent specially erected for the occasion, and here also, in the evening, a public meeting was held. H. O. Wills, Esq., occupied the chair, and addresses were delivered by the Revs. C. F. Moss, Torrington; W. Clarkson, Bideford; P. Johnson, B.A., Appledore; E. Roberts, Braunton; and H. Wyatt, Esq., of Bristol. All the proceedings of the day were eminently satisfactory. From the surrounding churches a large number of friends came to show their sympathy in the undertaking.

**ASSOCIATED BAPTIST CHURCHES.**—The annual meetings of the Associated Baptist Churches of Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire were held in Park-street Chapel, Luton, on Tuesday and Wednesday last. The annual sermon was preached on the Tuesday evening by the Rev. C. Stovel, of London. On Wednesday, at ten o'clock a.m., the pastors and delegates met for prayer and business. The report and letters from the churches were subsequently read. The Rev. T. Handa, of Luton, was moderator, and the Rev. H. C. Leonard, M.A., of Boxmoor, is secretary. The secretary's report stated that there was last year an unusually large accession to the members of the churches. They had this year also to report large additions, but not quite so many as last year; still there was a larger number than on previous years, and they thanked God, and took courage. The association comprised twenty-three churches, three of which were at present without pastors. The meeting subsequently passed several resolutions relative to public matters. One was to the effect that the association rejoiced that the Irish Church Bill had been passed by such large majorities in the House of Commons. The Chairman said that in petitioning Parliament in reference to the bill, they were only following the high and holy example of the vicar of the parish. He had preached against the bill, as well as petitioned against it. Seeing, then, that it was no sin to be political, they had adopted a petition praying the House of Lords to pass this most just and necessary measure. Confirmation was also given by the meeting to two other resolutions. One was in favour of the Nonconformists Burial Bill, and the other in favour of the bill for opening the Universities to the nation at large, without distinction of sect. This month the Senior Wrangler of the University of Cambridge had been debarred from receiving the rewards due to those who attain that position, on account of his being a Nonconformist. This distinction had been three times attained by Dissenters, who have been unable to take the reward on account of their religious belief. It was arranged to hold the autumnal session at Boxmoor, on the first Tuesday in November. In the evening a public meeting was held, at which the Rev. T. Owen, of Cranfield, gave an address on "Our Churches," and the Rev. R. Speed, of Bedford, spoke on "Our Sunday-schools." The Rev. T. Watts, of St. Albans, also gave an able address on "Our County Missions."

**THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY.**—This useful organization, which was in reality established by John Wesley, held its ninety-seventh anniversary on Monday evening, June 7th, at the London Tavern. There was a large attendance. Robert Baxter, Esq., presided. The report stated with an expenditure of 176*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*, exclusive of upwards of 71*l.* devoted to special services and treats, the society employs a numerous agency in many varieties of Christian work, such as open-air preaching, workhouse visitation, distribution of tracts, &c. Of the workhouses St. Luke's offers them more facilities than any other, as they are allowed there to visit all the wards. The Female Refuge is another scene of the operations of the society. On an average in the asylum there are forty young women. As to lodging-houses, more have been visited this year than on any other. The free tea-meetings also given by the society have proved very beneficial, and it seems not a little good has been done in the poorer districts by the distribution of clothing. At the mission-room, Hoxton, where religious services are held, and where 255,477 tracts have been distributed, the statistics of the society are as follows:—Members, 136; services held, 8,573; addresses delivered, 9,633; number of hearers, including open-air, 379,370; number of workhouses visited, five, including 111 wards and halls, thirty-four lodging-houses, two mission rooms, two refuges, one tent, and sixteen open-air stations. One thing on which stress was laid was the increased difficulty the society had in finding suitable open-air agents, though it has, on the whole, been more energetic this year than before. From a reference made to its want of funds it appears that the society has much more to do if it had the means. Another thing which mooted was the celebration of the centenary, which would take place in three years' time, and in the course of the evening a resolution with reference to it was ably moved by Mr. F. A. Bevan, the banker, and seconded by Mr. Barclay. The first resolution was moved by the Rev. G. P. Pownell, B.A., rector of St. John's, Hoxton. As representative of the Shoreditch Board of Guardians, he spoke of the good the society had accomplished, of the valuable character of that lay agency which the Church of England was only now beginning to appreciate, and of the real Christian union which would be the result of such lay agency. S. D. Waddy, Esq., the well-known Wesleyan barrister, followed, and referred to the encouragements they had, and the need of the renewed exertions of the society in these critical times, when Romanism and Rationalism were on the increase, and when more than ever was required the simple old-fashioned Gospel. The other speakers were the Rev. J. Yeames, a minister of a high order of elo-



quence, the chairman, and the Rev. Mr. Disney, a clergyman from the south of Ireland.

### Correspondence.

#### OUR MODERN MISSIONARY ORGANISATIONS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

MY DEAR SIR,—As my last letter made some allusion to a resolution of which I gave notice at the last annual meeting of members of the Baptist Missionary Society, and as the subject is one in which all modern missionary societies are equally interested, will you kindly permit me the opportunity of laying the resolution before your numerous readers?—

That it is expedient to bring the churches into closer and more direct contact with the missionary operations which they sustain.

That the support of the missionaries now at work, and of their various agencies, be accordingly distributed among the churches in proportion to the average of their contributions during the last five years.

That the missionary fields thus apportioned be thenceforth under the immediate and exclusive control of the churches to which they have been allotted.

That our secretaries be instructed to open a correspondence forthwith with the secretaries of the various county associations, relative to the allotment of the several mission fields.

And that this resolution shall take effect within twelve months of its adoption.

Such is the resolution. The whole matter will come up for discussion next year. In my view, the proposed plan is far more apostolical, and will prove much more economical, and at the same time far more efficient, than the existing one. I have been told that "the suggested arrangement, though in theory very Scriptural, is, in reality, utterly Utopian and impracticable; and that we are not yet ripe for such a sweeping change." To which I answer, that what is Scriptural in such matters must be not only practicable, but best; and that the sooner the process of ripening for such a change commences, the better. In our modes of working for God, we cannot improve upon "the simplicity that is in Christ."

Yours, with best wishes,

Devonport.

JOHN STOCK.

#### POPULAR INSTRUCTION FOR ADULTS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—As the subject of national education is engaging a large share of public attention, and is likely to form the basis of legislation in the next session of Parliament, it may not be inappropriate to consider the claims of that portion of the population who are not likely to be included in any Legislative schemes, viz., those adults who are entirely uneducated. That such persons form a very considerable section of the community, is a fact patent to all who have given the matter the slightest attention, and especially to those who for philanthropic and other purposes have come into close contact with the lower portion of the working population. Were statistics needed I may instance the late returns of the Registrar-General on marriages in England, which give 30 per cent. of women, and 21 per cent. of men, who could not write their name.

I will not pause to moralise on this state of things, but will at once venture to suggest that during next winter an effort should be made to reach every ignorant man and woman in the land; and I dare to think that such a result is not unattainable if only the effort be resolute and united.

The plan submitted for consideration is this:—That every Christian congregation, every Sunday and day-school, all mission, temperance, and improvement societies, together with new associations which may be established for the purpose, organise a series of classes for the instruction of persons over fifteen years of age in reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. That in connection with these classes there be held fortnightly or monthly popular instruction meetings, when the above subjects be explained and illustrated on the black board, by maps or other suitable methods, accompanied by a musical entertainment of the very best character. That as reading would require a larger amount of time than the other subjects named, the religious societies of the country be invited to establish adult reading classes to meet in their churches on the morning or afternoon of every Sunday next winter. That every competent person, including ladies and gentlemen of the highest position and distinction, be urgently requested to give their services during the coming winter. That on a certain day, say in September next, there be a house-to-house visitation by voluntary workers to invite adult persons needing further instruction to attend some class or popular meeting.

I feel confident if some such plan were carried out the great mass of popular ignorance would be considerably lessened in a single winter, and if not, there will doubtless be found many earnest workers who will not confine their efforts to that time. I have, however, preferred at present to suggest that limit principally because many who are already engaged in other philanthropic pursuits might be unable to spare more time.

Before bringing my scheme before the public I was desirous of giving it a trial, so far as the "popular instruction meeting" was concerned, and, with the kind assistance of several ladies and gentlemen, two small meetings have been held in Newcastle under the presi-

dency of members of the Town Council. I enclose programmes of the proceedings, by which it will be seen that several sums were worked in simple and compound arithmetic, a few hints given on reading, and an outline sketched of the geography of England and of the world. In the intervals songs and glees were sung, and the meeting concluded by the company joining in "God save the Queen." The experiment has fully confirmed me in the opinion that the scheme is thoroughly practicable, and I therefore venture to submit it to the generous consideration of all interested in education.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

SAMUEL TOMKINS.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, June 12, 1869.

### Parliamentary Intelligence.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday being the Cup Day at Ascot, the House of Lords met at the unusually early hour of three o'clock, and confined their labours to advancing a few private bills a stage.

#### THE IRISH CHURCH.

On Friday, Lord BATEMAN remarked on the embarrassing position in which the Irish Church Bill was placing the House. He desired to call Lord GRANVILLE's attention to the threats which had been uttered against the House in the event of its dealing in a certain manner with the bill, and intimated an intention to question the Government as to the steps it would take in that event.

Lord CARNARVON earnestly deprecated the premature and desultory raising of a discussion on the subject, and Lord CAIRNS having spoken in the same sense, Lord BATEMAN, in deference to these remonstrances, consented not to persist in putting his contemplated question.

Lord GRANVILLE for the present thought it sufficient to assure the House that in any event the Government would not depart from a respectful attitude towards the House.

The Duke of ABERCORN, on presenting a petition from the Presbyterians and other Protestants of Belfast against the Irish Church Bill, made some brief observations on the general change of feeling which had, he believed, occurred in the north of Ireland in relation to the bill.

The Parochial Schools (Scotland) Bill was read a third time and passed.

The New Parishes and Church Building Acts Amendment Bill was read a second time, after some remarks by Lords PORTMAN and CHICHESTER.

The second reading of the Beerhouses Bill was moved by Lord SALISBURY, who maintained that the present licensing system had proved a failure. The measure, he explained, was only an experimental and tentative one, being limited to two years. Lord DERBY drew attention to the very different principles on which different benches of magistrates granted licences, particularly in his own neighbourhood. If, as intimated, the present bill were treated merely as preliminary to ulterior and more general legislation, it would be well to consider what the conditions of obtaining a licence should be. Lord MORLEY, on behalf of the Government, accepted the bill as an admirable suspensory or tentative measure, which would prevent the improper multiplication of beerhouses for the present. A larger measure would be introduced by the Government next year, or, at latest, the year after.

The Customs and Inland Revenue Duties Bill was read a second time, on the motion of Lord LANSDOWN, who explained the state of the finances and the character of the financial propositions of the Government.

The Election Commissioners' Expenses Bill was read a second time, on the motion of Lord KIMBERLEY.

Their Lordships adjourned at a quarter to seven.

#### THE IRISH CHURCH BILL.

The opening of the debate on the Irish Church Bill on Monday drew together a large crowd, both inside and outside the House. A considerable number of persons had assembled in Palace-yard and Westminster Hall shortly before five o'clock, at which hour the House itself presented an unusually animated aspect. There was a large attendance of peers, a considerable number of whom took the oath and subscribed the roll, not having previously attended during the present session. The Prince of Wales arrived shortly after five, and took his seat beside the Duke of Cambridge on the cross benches. Earl Spencer, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, occupied a seat on the front Ministerial bench. Many members of the House of Commons were present at the bar and in front of the throne, and the galleries were filled with a brilliant assemblage of peeresses and ladies.

A large number of petitions were presented against the Irish Church Bill, but owing to the confusion arising from peers crowding together at the table, and from the buzz of conversation which pervaded the House, it was impossible to gather by whom they were laid on the table, or from whence they proceeded. Amongst others the Earl of Derby presented some 150 petitions, several of them from Lancashire, on which he made following remarks:—

One of the petitions is from Blackburn, and bears 81,000 signatures, and there are others proceeding from

meetings held in Liverpool and Manchester on Saturday last, which are of a character somewhat out of the ordinary line. They were adopted at open-air meetings, and are, of course, signed only by the respective chairmen, but your lordships should be informed that the Liverpool meeting consisted of from 25,000 to 30,000 persons, and that the Manchester meeting was divided into eight sections, at each of which a petition was adopted, the gross attendance being estimated at 230,000 persons. (Cheers.) I have had the advantage of seeing the estimates of the eight chairmen, and, in corroboration of the numbers they have given, I may mention, on the authority of a noble friend of mine, that on Friday last no less than 243,000 tickets had been issued for this meeting from the central office in Manchester. Now, that issue corresponds so closely with the estimated attendance of 230,000, that I think your lordships will be satisfied that there can have been no great exaggeration with regard to the latter, and that it is some indication of the feeling of a great portion of the county of Lancaster. I will not trouble your lordships with any further observations now, as I shall probably have an opportunity of offering my opinion in the discussion which is likely to arise.

Then Lord GRANVILLE appeared, and all was ear and gaze; while round there was none above a breath. To the uninitiated there must have appeared to have appeared to have been a check, for, muttering something indistinctly, he sat down again. The explanation at once followed, the Clerk reading that portion of her Majesty's Speech which relates to the Irish Church. Looking very pale, and for once seeming to be really nervous,

Earl GRANVILLE began his motion for the second reading of the bill with an apology, apparently as real as it was elaborate, of his sense of difficulty in performing the task which was before him. His lordship said that it was hardly necessary to argue that the Irish Church was a great anomaly, and an injustice to the Irish people, and that it had not fulfilled its ostensible purpose. That had always been his own conviction, and it had been, in fact, acknowledged by all parties, as Lord Mayo's scheme showed. With reference to the general principles of the bill, he denied that the Act of Union, passed seventy years ago, and which had been already infringed by the Church Temporalities Act, could be a bar to a change like this, sanctioned, as it would be, if at all, by a Parliament representing Ireland as well as England. Nor was the bill, he argued, antagonistic to the doctrine of the Royal supremacy according to the basis on which Lord Kingsdown's judgment in "Long v. the Bishop of Capetown" had rested that doctrine. But, whatever the view adopted of the theory of the Royal supremacy, at any rate Ireland would not be put by the bill in a worse position than Scotland was now. How anomalous, again, the state of things which the measure attempted to cure was appeared from the fact that the Irish Church was, as compared with the number of its members, with possibly one exception, by far the richest religious establishment in the world. That the bill was no attack on Protestantism, was sufficiently proved by the Liberal majority at the last elections. But the great defence of the bill was its necessity. He would not despair of the House of Lords, nor of the Episcopal Bench itself, perceiving its necessity and its justice. He combated earnestly the argument which it was supposed might weigh with the bishops of the English Church—that if the present measure were passed their turn would come next. Disclaiming any wish or power of dictating to the House, he would not presume that the House would take one step without considering what the next step must be. It would be absurd, in truth, to doubt the independence of the House, composed as at the present moment it showed itself to be, of men possessing enormous property, and of men who rendered great public and private services, and attended as it was by representatives of the Privy Council of great foreign realms and republics, and, as the galleries testified, by that portion of humanity, too, which exercised by no means the least influence over affairs. But, free and powerful as the House was, there was one thing than which it was less powerful, and that was a clear expression of the national will. Indeed, the whole tone of the debate on the Suspensory Bill, as he showed by extracts from the speeches of Lord Cairns and Derby, implied that the Opposition then pledged itself to abide by the will of the country whenever disclosed. Now, however, it would appear as if certain peers had taken for the keynote of their policy the schoolboy's principle, "Heads I win, and tails you lose." The Government had been accused of an imperious determination to admit no amendments to the bill.

Now, in the first place, the fact is not so. One amendment, involving a very difficult question, was positively postponed in Committee at the suggestion of the Prime Minister, with the approval of Mr. Hardy and the acquiescence of Sir Roundell Palmer, on the understanding that it would be better to leave the subject for your lordship's determination, on the complimentary ground that your lordships would be the body most competent to deal with it. But, my lords, there were also a certain class of amendments which were rejected, by a majority of the House of Commons, under the advice of Her Majesty's Government. I mean the class of amendments which were proposed by Mr. Disraeli. I will venture to ask the noble and learned lord opposite who, if he did not frame these amendments, must certainly have given his sanction to them, whether Her Majesty's Government were bound to regard them as *bona fide*, or in the light of amendments proposed for the purpose of attacking Mr. Gladstone in front, rear, and flank, in order to find a



weak point in his armour, and of endeavouring to find whether there was a possibility of breaking the serried ranks of the majority. It seems almost insulting to ask such a question, but if the amendments were not *bond fide* Her Majesty's Government certainly would have been utterly unjustified in accepting them. If, however, on the other hand, they were put forward as being *bond fide* amendments, I should be glad if the noble and learned lord when he speaks in the course of the debate would explain their somewhat extraordinary character. I have referred the whole of them to a professional gentleman of great statistical eminence, who has worked out the results that would follow their adoption, and he finds that without giving any compensation to Maynooth or to the Presbyterians, 1,300,000*l.* or 1,400,000*l.* would be required over and above the highest estimate at which this bill places the Church property to carry them into effect. (Cheers, and a laugh.) Under these circumstances, I should like to know whether her Majesty's Government were right or wrong, or were in any way disrespectful to this House, by anticipation in refusing to accept amendments which would entail such a result. My lords, it is very difficult for me, and, indeed, it would be perfectly impossible for me, to speak for the House of Commons, or for any large portion of that body, but I have not the slightest doubt that the House of Commons was disposed to encourage her Majesty's Government in any just and reasonable course they might point out as being the best that could be followed under the circumstances. But, my lords, supposing that every possible amendment that by any strain of their judgment her Majesty's Government could bring themselves to think consistent with the principle of their bill had been acceded to, in what position would your lordships' House have been placed? Why, it would have been impossible for the Government to have conceded any single amendment that your lordships might think it right to make in the bill. But as the matter now stands, I, on the part of my colleagues and myself, have to state that, proud as we are of the charge that has been committed to our care, and determined as we are to adhere religiously to the principle and main provisions of the bill, we are not only ready to gratefully welcome any alteration in the details which appeared to us likely to have a beneficial effect, but we should think it an absolute duty to carefully consider every alteration proposed by your lordships. More than that I cannot say, and more or less I ought not to say. (Cheers.) My lords, the noble earl opposite, whose forcible language so often carries conviction to the minds of his enthusiastic audience, has stated that the question of the Irish Church is not a question of politics, but is a question of the Bible. Not a political question? Why, your lordships, who know something of the history of that Church since its establishment 800 years ago, will be aware that the great base of that Church is that it has been constantly steeped in politics, and politics of the worst description. (Cheers.) And now, when we come forward for the first time with a measure that may possibly be successful to take away that political character from that Church, planted as it is in the midst of a population the large majority of which do not agree with its doctrines, we are told that the question is not a political one. I do not yield in respect for the Bible to the noble earl, and when I look to that portion of the Bible which applies to Christians of all denominations, I find in it precepts which no repetition can render stale, which no misapplication can vulgarise, and which, in twelve short words, gives to us one line of duty as between man and man. My lords, I will venture to ask again this evening a question which I asked last year—a question which had been asked scores of times before and hundreds of times since. Will any of your lordships answer that question, and say that if the relative positions of this country and of Ireland had been changed—if Ireland had been the stronger for three centuries, if she had imposed upon us a so-called National Church with which we did not agree, and which monopolised all the ecclesiastical titles and all the ecclesiastical wealth of the country—we, when that pressure was removed, should have consented to such a state of things being continued? My lords, that question has not yet been answered, and I believe that it is unanswerable. Will the noble earl who is about to move the rejection of this bill commence his speech by stating in a direct manner that he can give an affirmative answer to that question? If the Holy Scriptures are to be dragged into this discussion, I say we have a right to claim that they are with and not against us when we are endeavouring, to use the words of her Majesty's gracious speech, "to promote the welfare of religion through the principles of justice and equality," and when we wish to do unto Ireland that which, if she were the stronger, we should wish Ireland to do unto us. (Cheers.)

The Earl of HARROWBY, who repudiated the character either of a leader or of a party man, moved an amendment that the bill should be read a second time that day three months. He cast back on the Government and its friends the charge of themselves being originally of Lord Mayo's much-abused opinion as to the propriety of levelling up; and he quoted from a letter of the late Mr. Dillon in the *Tablet* in proof. They wanted to know how this measure originated. Now, in September, 1867, the Liberation Society sent over a mission to Ireland with the assistance of Mr. O'Neill Daunt, who boasted that he had an assurance from the heads of the Roman Catholic Church that they would not accept an endowment, and thereupon the Society made a contract that they would make the first move against the Irish Church as part of their own scheme for disendowment. This rested at any rate upon undoubted authority, for it was referred to this very year in the report of the Liberation Society. They thought that in attacking the Irish Church they were attacking the weakest part of the Established Church of this country. (Hear, hear.) It was necessary to consider this question upon a broader basis. This was not a battle, but a campaign, and the question was where they should begin their resistance. (Hear, hear.) His own objection to the bill was that it was revolutionary, that it implied in a certain sense a violation of the Coronation Oath, and that it was opposed to the Act of Union. Circumstances might, he confessed, be imagined when such extreme measures would be justifiable; but his complaint was that none such had

been shown to exist in the present instance. How little necessary in the cause of justice was the destruction of the Irish Church Establishment, he showed by citations from Grattan, Burke, Plunkett, Castlereagh, and Peel, who were all in its favour. With such men he would rather err than be right with Mr. Miall—(a laugh)—to whom noble lords opposite were more indebted than they were evidently aware:—

Only this morning I chanced to light upon the account of a debate in the House of Commons in 1856 upon the question of the Irish Church, promoted by Mr. Miall himself, who made a very able and temperate speech. He was ordered to make that speech by the Liberation Society at the opening of the campaign. And what were the distinct propositions then made by Mr. Miall? It is a very odd circumstance that they were, *totidem verbis*, the same as those of the bill now before your lordships. Mr. Miall recommends that the Church should be broken up, and he shows how it is to be done. On that occasion Mr. Miall said:—

"Well, Sir, I would suggest, with a view to this, the constitution of a special Court for a limited term, analogous to the present Encumbered Estates Court, and having at once the powers of an executive commission and also of a Court of Equity."

Is not that the proposal here?

"I would vest in that Court the fee simple, if I may so call it, of all State ecclesiastical endowments in Ireland. It would take possession at once of the fund standing in the name of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in Ireland, and to it would be annually paid the sum charged upon the Consolidated Fund for the endowment of Maynooth College, and the grants voted by this House for Belfast professors and Nonconforming ministers; but in the case of the endowments and property of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with the exception I have already named, it would come into possession only upon the decease of each existing beneficiary. The first claimants upon the funds thus accruing would be those clergymen who, in case of the abolition of ministers' money, the repeal of the Maynooth Endowment Act, and the discontinuance of the *Regium Donum*, are entitled to receive whatever they now receive from the State during the remainder of life. This list, of course, would be gradually cleared off by the death of the recipients. The second class of claimants would be the private patrons of livings, who have a right to expect full compensation for the somewhat anomalous, but yet legally recognised, property which State policy would extinguish. They, however, do not number in Ireland above 300 altogether. The third class of claimants would be Protestant congregations, who have voluntarily given their own money in the improvement of the Church property of their respective parishes."

My lords, I am afraid that class has been omitted here. (Hear, hear.)

"I suggest that the Court should act as a Court of Equity in determining the validity and amount of such claims, subject to appeal, if it be wished, to a superior tribunal, and that it should be authorised to pay over to individual claimants, or to trustees on behalf of Protestant congregations, such compensation as may be legally awarded."

That also has been entirely omitted from this bill. (Hear.)

"The property left in the hands of the Court for the benefit of the Irish public would comprise Church edifices, glebe-houses, lands, rents, rectorial charges, &c. With respect to sacred edifices, I think perhaps the most satisfactory arrangement would be to leave Protestant Episcopal congregations in undisturbed possession of them."

So that Mr. Miall, the head of the Liberation Society, is quite as indulgent as the present Government. (Hear, hear.)

"And in respect of land and glebes, the Court would have the power of sale. The rectorial charges would constitute the main difficulty, because, if left in their present shape, it would be necessary to maintain an extensive and costly machinery for their collection. I would suggest that power be given to the landowners to redeem them at—say ten or twelve years' purchase. Well, Sir, the whole of the net property thus accruing to the proposed Court by the falling in of life interests ought, I think, in common fairness, to be expended in Ireland."

But compensation to Maynooth and the recipients of the *Regium Donum*, which used to be charged on the Imperial Exchequer, is now to be thrown on Ireland. (Hear, hear.)

"I suggest that this property should be made available, in the first place, to the founding and supporting of infirmaries, hospitals, lunatic asylums, and reformatories (cheers and laughter), and that what is not required for these objects should be laid out, under the direction of the Board of Works, in the construction of piers, harbours, lighthouses, and quays, in providing arterial drainage, in deepening rivers, and in such other public undertakings as would best develop the great natural resources of the country." (Hear, hear.)

Now, surely, we have here a very curious coincidence. (Cheers.) At that time her Majesty's Ministers voted against it. Lord Palmerston made a very remarkable speech on the occasion, and I find among those who voted against it the name of Mr. William Ewart Gladstone. (Cheers.) I don't impute to Mr. Gladstone that he had changed his mind between 1830 and 1856; but surely this is a rather sudden change of opinion occurring within the last few years. In fact, the proposal of Mr. Miall is obviously the very counterpart of the present measure. (Cheers.)

He proceeded to discuss the inconveniences of dealing in this abrupt and violent way with sixteen millions' worth of property, and the great probability that the effect would be to diminish the number of Irish Protestants, thus depriving the Irish peasantry of kindly friends and employers, and England of its truest friends. The bill had been rested, indeed, on the argument of justice to Ireland. But, at the highest, it was only half justice to the Irish Roman Catholics, who, on the same plea, might logically claim to have their confiscated property restored to them, and it was wholly injustice to the Irish Protestants. He urged, finally, on the House its obligation, considering its place in the State, to resist this revolutionary attempt. Substantially the bill was

the same as was thrown out by their lordships last year, and he could not imagine any peers who voted against the Suspensory Bill supporting this one. The noble earl was not quite correct in quoting the language of the Marquis of Salisbury last year, who really said that that House should yield to the permanently sustained expression of public opinion. He agreed with that view, but that House had an important function to discharge in the constitution, which was to give time to the deliberate consideration of all measures submitted for legislation:—

As has been said, you may resist the fluttering breezes, but not a hurricane. This House has on more than one occasion acted in such a manner that the permanent public opinion has been ascertained and acted upon. We are now in more democratic latitudes, but all democratic countries have found the necessity for some check, in order to ensure public safety. In America, the most democratic country of all, particular pains have been taken to secure such checks. By the articles of the constitution, the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of Congress is required before a proposition can be made to alter a single article in it. In some respects our constitution is even more democratic than that of America, for in that country there is the check of the Senate, which we have not. They have the check of their Federal Assemblies, which we have not, and, above all, they have the check of the absolute veto of the President, which we have not; for we all know from the experience of a century and a half that the veto of the Sovereign is a fiction. If you increase democracy in this country, without retaining the existing constitutional checks, the result will be pure and simple democracy without any check whatever. Is it reasonable that a measure, which is not twelve months old, for, in point of fact, it is only eight or nine, of so revolutionary a character, infringing the Act of Union in one of its most material points, as that of disestablishing one of the branches of the United Church of England and Ireland, and adopting a principle not only entirely new to our legislation, but to that of every country of Europe and everywhere else, except the United States, should be hurried through in this way? (Cheers.) Is it surprising that in such circumstances we should ask for further time for consideration? Moreover, I believe that the working classes are at this moment looking to your lordships to give them that time for the consideration of the question which they think the importance of the subject deserves. (Cheers.) My Lords, if you pass the second reading of this bill you will inflict a fatal blow upon this House. The democracy are expecting you to give them time. They are coming by hundreds and thousands, they are holding public meetings, and they are doing everything in their power to express their wish. Will you, then, turn round and say, "No; we are afraid." (Cheers.) If you do, it will be a grievous blow to large classes of your fellow countrymen, and upon a point where their feelings are strongest. The House of Lords will never recover its place in the respect of the country. I have mixed more largely with the working classes than many of your lordships have done, and I know the depth of their religious convictions and the respect which they entertain for your lordships. I therefore ask you, not to set yourselves up against the feeling of the country before this great revolution is accomplished. (Loud cheers.)

Lord CLARENDON compared the expressions of feeling on this Irish Church question with the old fanatical opposition to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the personal rancour against Mr. Gladstone with that against the late Sir Robert Peel in reference to the repeal of the Corn Laws—

I happened to get into a railway-carriage, only one seat in which was vacant, the rest being occupied by men of the farmer class, who were returning from an agricultural show. They bitterly abused Sir R. Peel, and said they all knew that he was interested in the ruin of agriculture, because all his property was invested in the funds. I ventured to take the side of Sir R. Peel, adding that I was not a personal friend of his, and did not belong to his party; upon which the Nestor and spokesman of my fellow-travellers said, "What you say may be true or false; all I know is, that if Sir R. Peel appeared in Salisbury Market to-morrow morning, there would not be a square inch of him left in five minutes." (Laughter.) Judging from what one reads, Mr. Gladstone would be torn piecemeal in the same way at the hands of men whose fanatic zeal has been maddened by men much superior to them in education. (Hear, hear.)

His noble friend said that this was a new question, and that the measure now before them was brought forward for the purpose of outbidding Lord Mayo. A little later he proved to his own satisfaction that the scheme was entirely taken from Mr. Miall. Lord Harrowby could not be right in both cases, and he thought he was wrong in both. (Hear, hear.) There was no agreement with Mr. Dillon, or with those whom he represented. There was no understanding with the Liberation Society. The whole thing was a fiction arising from the exercise, the lively exercise, of his noble friend's imagination. It was, he felt, impossible to awaken much interest in so thoroughly exhausted a discussion as this; but the one question to be considered was whether the measure was just and necessary. He referred to his own Irish experiences, sincere Protestant as he was, in proof that it was just. How necessary it was sufficiently appeared from the clear impossibility—which, as was always the case, had only made itself evident tardily—of governing Ireland on the old principles. But the reasons for giving the bill a second reading on account of its justice and its necessity were, in his opinion, even inferior to the reasons in its favour which might be drawn from the danger its summary rejection would cause to the House of Lords. As a majority in the house had accepted household suffrage, to which it was probably more averse than even the present measure, so he hoped it would act now again, and not throw this bill back on the House of Commons.

The Duke of RUTLAND was hostile to the bill, as



opposed to the rights of property and the Coronation Oath, and as dissolving the salutary connection between Church and State. He cited the authority of Mr. Pitt, Sir R. Peel, and Lord Palmerston against the arguments of Lord Clarendon. The bill had been rested on the ground that the Irish Church was the Church of a minority; but he denied that, if the United Kingdom were looked at as one, it was the Church of a minority. Then, again, it had been supported as a measure of equality; but how, he asked, could there be equality between Romanism and Protestantism, between truth and error? As for the argument that the Established Church was the badge of conquest, it was, he thought, much truer in point of history that the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland was that. He could discover no generosity in the compensation which the bill provided for the Protestant Church. The result must be that the Church would be thrown back on the voluntary principle, which he himself thought a very objectionable principle, and the success of which in Scotland had been greatly exaggerated. That the Roman Catholic Church maintained itself in Ireland on that principle, was no proof that the Protestant Church, which had no doctrine of purgatory to appeal to, could be thus maintained. He denied that the House was engaged by anything which had occurred last year to let this bill pass. Last year they had not been informed by Mr. Gladstone that Maynooth was to be endowed out of the property of the Protestant Church.

Lord STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE thought it was necessary to look at the question as affecting not merely the Irish Church, but also the relations between this and the other House. He thought this disestablishment as proposed by the bill was unjust to the Irish Protestants. He thought, too, that this measure being put forward as only one part of the Irish policy of the Government, the House had a right to complain that the other two portions of this policy had not been declared at the same time. He feared, looking at the character of the bill, that we might be sacrificing the substance to the shadow, and he treated very lightly the argument that the bill was an act of justice to Ireland. But, then, when he considered the events of last year, and the place of this House in the State, and its relation to the other House, he reluctantly felt obliged to vote for the second reading, though he should reserve his liberty to vote against the third reading, if his objections to the bill were not removed in committee.

Lord ROMILLY defended the bill as an attempt to put all the religions in Ireland on an equality. It was in its favour, and surely not against it, that it was the spontaneous offer of England to Ireland, and not the result of direct Irish pressure. He did not see why the destruction of ecclesiastical machinery should destroy religion, as had been urged. A like series of measures in Scotland had not had that effect, and the origin of Christianity was itself a proof to the contrary. He believed the result would be the reverse of what was predicted by Lord Harrowby; there would be more zeal and less jealousy. The Irish Church, as an Established Church, had not been successful, and accordingly, on the principles on which the Court of Chancery acted, it had become the duty of the State to put an end to it, at least as a corporation of its present character. He warned the House of the danger of attempting to raise corporate to the level of private property, lest they should only in the end be lowering private property to the level of public. As for the argument from the Coronation Oath, Lord Harrowby had misapprehended the real sanction and objects of such a pledge. In conclusion, he reminded the House of the blow, the effects of which still lasted, of its original rejection of the Reform Bill of 1832, and he entreated it not to repeat the blunder.

The Archbishop of CANTERBURY acknowledged that it was a great crisis. He and his brethren must take advice of neither side, but only in obedience to their own consciences. His own opinion was that they must neither accept the measure as it was, nor reject it in its present stage. He had gladly hailed Lord Granville's assurance that any amendments would be carefully considered. He could not match himself on a purely legal question against Lord Romilly's authority—although he doubted the correctness of his view as to the rights of corporate property—but he was entitled to contest Lord Romilly's advice to the Irish Church to accept disestablishment gratefully as a benefit. There was a little paradox in the statement that to confiscate some millions of property was a proper way of giving security to property. (Hear.) His right rev. friends and himself were sincerely attached to the Irish Church. They knew the difficulties their Irish brethren had had to contend with; and that this blow injured them, and was very likely to injure the Church of England. (Cheers from the Opposition benches.) They had the same cause at heart, and though it was said that this bill would dissolve the union between the Church in England and the Church in Ireland, it was beyond the power of an Act of Parliament to produce that result. The union of the Churches was the union of their common faith and common communions which existed before the Act uniting Ireland with England existed, and would survive after the present bill should be passed. As the bill stood, it gave no adequate inducements to the Protestants to associate themselves together to carry out its provisions.

What are the inducements held out? You give them the power of becoming a corporation, so that they might hold property in common. That advantage is not very great, seeing that they might receive property through trustees. You also give them the right of buying their own houses at ten years' purchase of the land on which they stand, so that the somewhat fictitious value which a clergyman has by his own industry given to his garden

is reckoned at ten years' purchase, and he is told he may have his house, if he pays that value or takes on himself all existing liabilities. Then there are the private endowments, which are variously estimated, but which, according to an estimate I have, and which does not differ very much from that given by Dr. Ball, amount to 80,000*l*. Then there are the life-interests, of which nothing but a revolution could deprive the parties interested. As far as I know, that is all the advantage you give to the Protestants of Ireland to induce them to form themselves into this voluntary society, and if they fail to do so you may, no doubt, carry out the bill in your own way—carry it out with so much harshness by confiscating the property of the Church; but you must entirely fail in your object, and, by taking no pains to conciliate the Protestants of Ireland, you will have to begin *de novo*. (Hear, hear.)

He desired, in the first place, however, to clear away two fallacies which had been made large use of—the one in relation to Scotland, where he denied the voluntary system had been successful either as to the Episcopal or as to the Free Kirk, and the other as to Canada, where a large part of the Church funds had in fact never been confiscated, and which nevertheless required supplementary assistance from the Propagation of the Gospel Society. As was so ably put by Sir Roundell Palmer in the House of Commons, the example of Canada might be followed in Ireland, but if it were followed it must be followed by preserving to the Irish Church all those funds which might hereafter contribute to its support. (Hear.) But, with all these defects of the bill, he did not feel sure that it was incapable of being turned into a good measure.—

There is nothing in the principle of the bill which makes it impossible to throw back to a far earlier date the time from which private endowments may be calculated. I am much mistaken, if you have an opportunity of dealing with the measure in committee, if you do not insist on going back to an earlier period than 1660. There is no intelligent reason to be given for the selection of the period. Does any man believe that the Church of England came into existence in Ireland in 1660, and not before? What were Usher, Bedell, and what even was Jeremy Taylor? Did he, before he received the Bishopric of Down and Connor, hold different opinions from those which he entertained as bishop? The thing will not stand examination at all, and, therefore, the date must be fixed at a much earlier date than 1660. I also believe that your lordships will insist that the same justice should be dealt out to the Protestants in Ireland which is given to Maynooth. (Hear.) I do not grudge to Maynooth its fourteen years' purchase, but what is the distinction drawn between the two cases? If professors of education are to be supposed to live for a longer time than other people, and if a student of Maynooth, whose whole career is not generally more than three years, is to have a fourteen years' interest for the purpose of reckoning compensation, I cannot understand why the Protestants should not receive the same measure. Therefore I say that whatever the basis on which you calculate the life interests at Maynooth, you should calculate the life interests of the Protestant Church in the same manner. Then, as to the reparation of the glebe-houses, if you cancel the building debt on Maynooth, with what face can you deal out a different measure to the Protestant clergy? (Hear.) It is altogether inconsistent with the preamble of the bill, which says that equal justice is to be dealt out to all parties. (Hear.)

The strength of the Government lay in this—that they had a policy, and their opponents had none. He thought the wisdom of Parliament and the heads of the Church could devise a more satisfactory measure than any tumultuous meetings at Manchester or in Ireland. If they were able thus to construct a measure dealing with this great subject, he was sure it would not be merely in name that the people of this country would now, as was done once before, thank God that they had a House of Lords. (Cheers.)

The Earl of CAERNARVON said he was not in any way insensible of the advantages of an Established Church. Every sympathy, almost every prejudice he had went in favour of it. There were few persons who contended even now-a-days that society could well exist without the bond of religion, and few would deny that an Established Church contributed largely towards the maintenance of that bond. He thought that what had been done in the colonies in Church matters was due not only to the spirit of voluntarism, but sometimes also had been done in spite of voluntarism. But in his humble opinion the advantages of an Established Church were rather advantages to the State than to the Church.

There was a time when the Church was not connected with the State, and I have yet to learn that that was not the purest and perhaps the best period of her existence. There was then a time when the State sought connection with the Church, because the Church was the first and prime element of civilisation, and when the Confession of the Trinity stood first on the Imperial Throne. There was another time when the union between Church and State was real, when every member of the State was a member of the Church; and there was, lastly, a time when the Church was a slave of the State, when their powers were unequally divided, and when the slave was sometimes compelled to wear, not fetters of gold, but fetters of iron. The mere union of Church and State is not enough, because the political union of Church and State was never closer than before the French Revolution, while religiously society and the Church never stood further apart. Those were days of great revenues and high privileges, and are also called, I think falsely, the times of Anglican liberty. But the Church fell, and fell with a crash such as was never seen before, and such as I trust never will be seen again. Why did she fall? Because she was dependent on the State, and the weapons of her destruction were not the weapons brought into play by the revolution, but weapons wrought in the workshops of the *ancien régime*. It must not be forgotten that the Church has two sides. It has its temporalities, but it has also its spiritualities, and into the latter no State can enter, because there the rights of conscience are at issue.

This, after all, is a question which is not confined to this House or to this country. It is a question with which all Europe at the present day is labouring; in one form in France, in another in Spain, in another in Austria. It is possible, I believe, to reconcile these two great powers—the temporalities and the spiritualities. But still the times are dangerous times when you find the Church compelled to fight at once for both its possessions; when Caesar lays claim not only to the things which belong to him, but also to the things which are God's. The danger of this state of things is that you run a serious risk of confusion, and that in that confusion the higher is sometimes sacrificed to the lower object.

He proceeded to explain how far he could accept the bill. He did not believe the measure would pacify Ireland; but, on the other hand, he recognised a certain merit in the freedom it would confer on the Irish Church—that freedom from the control of the State which long kept her in slavery, which for so many generations made her the cesspool of official patronage, and which led to her being described by Swift as full of birds of passage who came to fatten and thrive on her revenues. Then, too, the Irish Church was the Church of a minority, and his experience in the Colonial Office had impressed on him the impossibility of a Church of a minority avoiding becoming a fossil. He was gradually forced to see that it had become impossible, and that the principle of Establishments was gradually crumbling away, with the consent of both the great parties in this country. Look at the colonies that had representative institutions. In the words of the Canadian Act, they had not even the "semblance" of an Established Church allowed in those colonies. He denied the analogy of Ireland with Wales, where the Episcopal Church was said to be in a minority. The difference was, that Dissent was an exotic in Wales, but Catholicism was not an exotic in Ireland. He would venture to warn those who thought that in this bill they could seal the fate of the Church of England, that not only was the case a very different one, but that not only they on that side of the House, but the Government and its supporters, stood deeply pledged to the fact that the case was entirely different between the two Churches. This question of the Irish Church, however, he looked upon as, like the question of 1828, more of a national than a religious question. As for the particular character of the present measure, he observed there were two senses of the term "disendowment,"—one, the appropriation of the endowments to cognate religious purposes; and the other secularisation. The method adopted in the bill was intermediate between the two. He believed in an essential distinction between private and corporate property. He thought, too, both disestablishment and disendowment were within the power of a country, wise or unwise as it might be to have recourse to them, and a certain measure of disendowment might be conceded to be a necessary consequence of disestablishment. But it was a very different question whether the disestablishment determined on by the bill was just; and he was convinced it was not. The Government had no right to put the life incomes of the existing incumbents into the account, and the surplus which this bill gave beyond those was little more than a beggarly 150,000*l*. or so. The relations of England and Ireland, and the distinct promises of numerous Ministers, had pledged the country to a much more generous provision.

Is it just to place the Irish Church in such a position? You must remember that her shortcomings, whatever they may have been, have been mainly due to the State. (Hear, hear.) You must remember all the promises made to her by statesmen representing all parties—the promises of Sir Robert Peel, the promises of Lord Palmerston, the promises of the present Prime Minister, the promises of Sir George Lewis, the promises of Sir George Grey, the promises of every Minister of distinction. I have much greater faith in the voluntary system than many persons, but while in a new country that system is possible and convenient, because it grows with the growth of the population and the wealth of the community, in an old country everything is out of proportion to it. Then the provisions in this bill are rather against the success of the Irish Church with the voluntary system than in favour of it, because the very fact of life interests being granted to the clergy cuts and cripples the voluntary effort. After a certain number of years these life interests will expire, and the Church will be thrown on its own resources. Some, indeed, say that the Irish Church will in time grow rich on voluntary efforts. On the other hand, the Chancellor of the Exchequer is reported to have stated that it was dangerous to have a Church too rich. The right hon. gentleman may, perhaps, be reasoning like the Sicilian tyrant who took the golden cloak off a statue, saying that in summer it was too warm and in winter it did not keep out the cold.

This was a simple money question, and it was beneath the State to haggle over the amount. But it was a different thing to reject the bill. It would be perilous to do this, whether in regard to the position of the House itself, to the Irish Church itself, or to Ireland. The responsibility of the measure rested on the Ministry; the power of protest was with this House. The majority for the bill in the House of Commons, succeeding an election which had placed this question fully before the country, and in which the country had decided finally, was large enough to induce the House to give the bill a second reading. On the other hand, the majority in this House against it, and the strength of the minority in the country against it, were sufficient to enforce amendments.

The Bishop of DERRY, in a lively and energetic speech, argued that voluntarism was most unsuited for Ireland, but that this, pure and simple, was the system which the bill really introduced. How much was to be hoped from amendments, he hinted, might be tested by the fate of various most just amendments in the other House; and the bill, as it was, in



fact, left hardly anything to the Church beyond the existing life incomes. It had been made the subject of much congratulation that the churches had been left to the Protestants of Ireland. Considering that it could be distinctly proved that since the abolition of Church-rates [Irish Church Cess, abolished in 1853], 800,000*l.* had been laid out upon these churches by the private and voluntary gifts of Irish Churchmen themselves, he did not think that any great generosity could be urged in this matter. He denied that voluntarism had been shown to have succeeded with Protestant churches. The voluntary system in Canada was one thing as seen in the bird's-eye view of a Governor-General residing greatly among French people—(Hear, hear)—and, perhaps, seeing the voluntary system under the soft and rosy light thrown over it by the richly-endowed Canadian Church. (Cheers.) But many of the pastors and clergy of Canada speak in very different terms, and write home in something like anguish that they were quite unable to fill up any vacancies in their stations, while the French Roman Catholic population, with their richly-endowed priesthood, increased by hundreds every year, and told them that in ten years they would trample out the English and Protestants and drive them from the country. In the Scottish Episcopal Church it was the same. Recently a strenuous attempt had been made to raise the income of the bishops to 500*l.* a year, and of the clergy placed in permanent benefices to 150*l.*, but with what result? At the last meeting of the Scotch Church Society it was announced that they were only able to bring up the percentage to some 10*s.* 8*d.* in the pound. He would ask whether they wished this analogy of the Scotch Episcopal Communion to be applied to Ireland? It was nothing to the point that the Roman Catholic Church, with its peculiar doctrines and influence, maintained itself under the voluntary principle. The Romish Church had a tremendous leverage, and the Irish peasantry were surrounded by a marvellous organisation. The Irish peasant was a voluntary in the same sense as the soldier whom Sheridan saw carried off by a picket with drawn bayonets to do his duty. (Laughter.)

We have heard, not only of this Church Bill, but of a Land Bill which is in the pocket of some member of the Government (laughter and cheers)—a bill which is to substitute a native Roman Catholic and Celtic proprietary for the present Protestant and so-called foreign proprietary. If you are going to get rid of the Protestants how on earth are you to work this voluntary system? Not content with cutting off the supply of water, you choke up the well with stones and sand, and then you tell us—"Go, in Heaven's name, and drink abundantly." (Much laughter and cheering.) The success of the voluntary system does not depend at all on the rich few, but on the man who has just enough to be able to afford something. I say this bill leaves us voluntarism pure and simple, and that voluntarism pure and simple is utterly unsuited to Ireland. I am not now arguing with those who are the enemies of religion in general or of our Reformed Church in particular. I am sure that none of those will be found in this House, with whom the cry of justice to Ireland is accompanied by some whistle, perhaps, to the Liberation Society over a hedge. I am speaking in this House, I am sure, to many who are earnest and conscientious supporters of this measure, and who think that in some way, which they can't explain, it is sure to do good to Ireland in the long run, and I desire to say to them, firmly but respectfully, that they cannot justify their course of action on a question like this by arguments of that kind. As you value the word of God, and as you would not extinguish the one beacon light in a dark court, as you would not take from a handful of peasants that religion which is to them a source of instruction in life and of consolation in death, I beseech you to draw back your hands from this measure of spoliation. (Cheers.)

He went on to defend the Irish Protestant Church from the charge of special intolerance. The principles of Churches till very recent times were never tolerant, and in reality a strain of tolerance had run through the policy of the Irish Church in the worst times. At all events, for about half a century it had been absolutely out of the power of the Protestants of Ireland to persecute the Roman Catholics. A great deal of prejudice had been excited against the Irish Church even by Ministers of the Crown—

The law officers of the Crown spoke of the maintaining of the glebe-houses of the Irish clergy as a national and sentimental grievance, because it would lead to a contrast being drawn between the miserable cottage of the priest and what he called the very magnificent parsonage of the Established Churchman. (Loud cheers.) My lords, has it come to this, that we are to be taunted and hooted because our ministers are educated gentlemen? (Hear.) You may remember that Lord Bacon in his famous discourse on the plantation of Ulster speaks of two harps—the harp of David, that betokened the spirit of religion, and the harp of Orpheus, that expressed the spirit of civilisation. Now, I suppose by that cheer we are to throw the one into the river because of its superstition, and to fling the other after it because of its echo. (Laughter.) I confess I did not expect in an assembly of English gentlemen to hear a panegyric on nastiness or an hypothesis on filth. (Laughter.)

He denied the charge that the Irish Church had failed in its mission. It had been urged that when the nation once declared its will that House must yield to it. But he doubted whether the nation had manifested its will on this particular measure. Look at those gigantic and unparalleled meetings which had been held against the bill both in Ireland and England. Consider again the number of petitions which had been presented against the measure. The Bishop concluded:—

The Protestants of Ireland with one voice called upon them to reject the bill, because, they said, its title was disrespectful to Protestantism—its preamble was somewhat disrespectful to Christianity—because it violated essential and fundamental conditions of the Union—be-

cause it was unjust to a portion of the clergy, and still more to the laity of Ireland—because it violated distinct pledges given to the English nation at the time this great issue was taken—because it is fast dividing our unhappy country into two hostile camps—and because it is pregnant with evil consequences of which we are as certain as of any that have not absolutely come. (Hear, hear.) We shall vote against it because we believe it will practically place Ireland under the real dominion of a Papal legate. (Hear, hear.) We desire to oppose it as far as we can, because, whatever the intentions of those who brought it forward—it bears the stamp of undying hostility to the Protestant religion—(Hear, hear)—because we believe it will not end till it has overthrown every Established Church in the land, and because we believe, that being the case, it is fraught with danger and confusion to the empire. (Hear, hear.)

The debate was then adjourned on the motion of Lord LYTON.

Several bills were advanced a stage, and their Lordships adjourned at a quarter past twelve.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On Wednesday the first bill on the paper—the Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill—was withdrawn, with the evident reluctance of its author, Mr. O'Reilly, on Mr. C. FORTESCUE undertaking to consider the whole subject with a view to general legislation next year.

#### IRISH FISHERIES.

The remainder of the sitting was mainly occupied by the Sea Fisheries (Ireland) Bill, the second reading of which was moved by Mr. BLAKE. It proposes to remove the control of the fisheries from the Board of Works to the Lord-Lieutenant, to abolish all existing restrictions on the modes of fishing, and to advance loans for the establishment of curing-houses, and enabling fishermen to purchase boats, gear, &c. On this last provision Mr. Blake dwelt with most earnestness, appealing to Mr. J. S. MILL's authority for the plan, and relating numerous instances in which such loans had been made without entailing any loss. By way of experiment, he proposed that 10,000*l.* should be lent for a certain period; and he was very severe on Mr. Lowe, who, he thought, had snubbed a deputation on the subject. He pointed out how the naval strength of the country would be increased by fostering a race of hardy seamen, and without this assistance he urged that the industry must perish. The bill was supported by Lord ST. LAWRENCE, who, however, pointed out what he considered to be omissions and defects in it, and more unreservedly by Mr. MAQUINN, Mr. SERJEANT DOWNS, and Mr. H. MATHWYS, who in a forcible maiden speech maintained that there was no breach of political economy in thus assisting an important industry. Frequent reference having been made to the grant to the Scotch fisheries, Mr. M'LAREN explained that not a farthing of it went to fishermen, but all was spent in salaries to boards, inspectors, &c. On the part of the Government, Mr. AYTON, speaking for the Treasury, stated that while willing to improve the administration of the fisheries, they would not consent to the establishment of a new Fishery Board, nor to the advance of loans to fishermen—a policy which he contended was insulting to the country and demoralising to the people; and Mr. C. FORTESCUE assented to the second reading, not as an acceptance of the principle of Government loans, but simply as a declaration that the fisheries ought to be placed under more efficient management and control, and he added that the Government would consider the propriety of placing them under a separate department. Colonel W. PATTEN approved the course taken by the Government, and Colonel ANNESLEY recommended that the loan portion of the bill should be withdrawn. After some observations from Mr. MURPHY and Colonel FRENCH, the bill was read a second time, on the understanding that it would not be pressed further.

#### SUNDAY TRADING.

When the House went into Committee upon the Sunday Trading Bill (at twenty-five minutes after five o'clock), Mr. T. HUGHES announced that he intended to confine the operation of the measure to the metropolitan police district. This statement excited many expressions of surprise, but did not appear in any degree to disarm the hostility entertained by several honourable gentlemen to the measure. Mr. RYLANDS rose to move that the chairman should leave the chair; and, encouraged by repeated exhortations to "Go on," and aided by the promptings of his friends, continued speaking until a quarter before six o'clock, when according to the rules of the House, the debate was necessarily adjourned. The other orders were rapidly disposed of, and the House itself adjourned.

On Thursday Mr. C. REED presented a petition from the Congregational Union of England and Wales, comprising 2,889 congregations, with upwards of 500,000 children in Sunday schools, in favour of the exemption of these schools from rating.

In reply to Mr. BENTINCK, Mr. OTWAY stated that the Foreign Office has received the decree of the Spanish Council of State, confirming the condemnation of the Tornado, and that the document has been submitted to the law officers for their opinion.

The two new Conservative members for Stafford—Captain Salt and Mr. Talbot—came to the table together to be sworn, and were greeted by their friends with a hearty cheer.

#### THE ARMY RESERVE.

Before the House went into Committee of Supply some time was spent in the discussion of military subjects, and Lord ELCHO developed a plan for the creation of a sufficient and effective army reserve. The leading features of the noble lord's scheme were

that after seven years' service in the army men should be allowed to retire into the first reserve, with a liability to serve in any part of the world, and after being seven years in that force should pass to the second reserve, and should not be called upon to go out of England; that the ballot for the militia should be revived, without the allowance of substitutes, but that the men drawn should not be drilled or trained until the necessity arose for their services; and that some organisation should be created by means of which the volunteer force, the members of which would be exempt from liability to the ballot, should be brought into more perfect connection and more intimate association with the militia and the army, which should themselves be more closely united. For some time all the speakers expressed perfect or almost perfect approval of this plan; but it failed to satisfy Mr. H. R. BRAND, the new member for Herts, who, in a quietly but easily delivered maiden speech, maintained that the army could not advantageously be recruited from either the volunteers or the militia, and that the real remedy for the defects of our present system was to render service in the army more popular. Colonel GILPIN declared even more decidedly against the revival of the ballot for the militia. This objection was fully shared by Mr. CARDWELL, who admitted that some of Lord ELCHO's suggestions were well deserving of consideration, and might probably be acted upon with advantage; but announced in the most decisive terms that he was not prepared to resort to any coercive measures for filling the ranks of either the militia or the army. The most interesting part of the speech of the Secretary for War was an announcement that he hoped next year to be able to propose a plan for reducing service in the army to at least as short a period as that recommended by the member for Haddingtonshire. The right hon. gentleman entered at great length into the whole question of army organisation, and explained a great many improvements which he has introduced, or of which he contemplates the introduction, into our military system. Colonel W. PATTEN discussed the question from the point of view of a militia officer, and while emphatically pronouncing against any resort to the ballot, suggested various improvements which he thought might be made in the organisation of that force. Mr. T. HUGHES, speaking as a "volunteer" officer, however, approved entirely of the ballot, which he regarded as a proper instrument to destroy "the paradise of shirks," and Colonel LORD LORRAINE was of the same opinion. Either people must not complain of the expense of the army, volunteers, and militia, or they must consent to bear arms themselves. Another commanding officer of volunteers, Mr. H. H. VIVIAN, complained that that force had no commissariat organisation or tents, and that the regiments were, as a rule, even without tents; while Major WALKER said a good word for the militia, and implored the Government not to endanger its popularity and impair its efficiency by resorting to the ballot. Some expressions of dissatisfaction used by Mr. PAXINGTON called up the "war lord," Captain VIVIAN, who retorted that Sir John himself had done nothing when in office, and defended generally Mr. Cardwell's activity in this particular, and the motion was then withdrawn.

In answer to Captain Beaumont, Mr. CARDWELL gave some explanations as to the comparative merits of the Moncrieff carriage and iron shields.

The House then went (at midnight) into Committee of Supply, and the votes for Militia, Yeomanry, Volunteers, Army Reserve, Greenwich Hospital, and a sum to complete the purchase of the Carey-street site were agreed to. An attempt made by Sir H. HOARE to strike out the yeomanry vote was defeated by 117 to 27.

Several bills were forwarded a stage, and the House adjourned at two o'clock.

#### BANKRUPTCY BILL.

On Friday the Bankruptcy Bill was again considered in Committee at a morning sitting. Progress was made as far as Clause 91, but, as on the previous days, no amendment of consequence was made in any of the clauses. The clauses relating to the audit of accounts in country bankruptcies were postponed, as were those creating the chief court in London, Sir ROUNDELL PALMER and many other members expressing a strong opinion that Mr. Commissioner Bacon was the proper person to be appointed chief judge.

#### THE SALISBURY MAGISTRATES.

At the evening sitting, after an ineffectual attempt to "count out," Mr. P. A. TAYLOR called attention to the case of two little children who were sentenced by the Salisbury magistrates to a month's imprisonment for stealing a shilling's worth of green's, and inveighed against the absurd cruelty of justices' justice. The HOME SECRETARY explained that the children were employed by their parents in an organised system of pillage, the vegetables being systematically stolen and sold. It was only through the children that the magistrates could get at the really guilty persons; but as the parents refused to pay the fines imposed, the alternative punishment had to be enforced.

#### PAY OF JUNIOR CLERKS.

Captain GROSVENOR brought before the House a curious dispute between the junior clerks and the First Lord of the Admiralty. The clerks contend that under an Order in Council of February, 1866, they are entitled to more pay than they are now receiving, and produce a very decided opinion of the Solicitor-General in their favour. Captain Grosvenor urged that Orders in Council ought either to be carried out according to their terms, or cancelled; and moved a resolution to that effect. He was supported by Lord H. LENNOX, Lord Bury, and Sir R. Peel.



The Government opposed the motion, Mr. CHILDERS denying that any substantial injustice had been inflicted, the SOLICITOR-GENERAL explaining that his opinion was given on imperfect documents, and the PREMIER warning the House not to sanction the unconstitutional principle that an Order in Council was binding on Parliament. On a division the motion was lost by 107 to 64 votes.

Sir H. BULWER gave notice that, on the 9th of July, he should call the House to the case of the Alabama claims.

Some other unimportant questions were briefly discussed, and the Greenwich Hospital Bill was read a second time.

The House adjourned at twenty minutes past one o'clock.

#### ENDOWED SCHOOLS BILL.

On Monday the House went into committee on this bill.

On Clause 9, Mr. T. CHAMBERS moved to insert, "with the consent of the governing bodies." Mr. WALTER contended that if the proposed words were inserted, the utility of the bill would be seriously impaired. Mr. FORSTER explained the scope of the clause, and contended that if the proposed amendment were carried the bill would be virtually destroyed, as the clause was in fact the bill. A discussion ensued as to whether or not the commissioners should be named in the clause, which was terminated by the assurance of Mr. GLADSTONE, that before the bill left the House the commissioners should be named. Mr. Chambers's amendment was withdrawn, and the clause was agreed to.

Clause 10.—Mr. T. CHAMBERS proposed to add words exempting the City of London from the control of the commissioners. Mr. FORSTER opposed the amendment as tending to render the bill nugatory as regarded the schools in the City of London; and, as it would be impossible to refuse similar exemption to extramural schools, the effect would be to throw the whole of our schools into the hands of the Charity Commissioners. Amendment withdrawn, and the clause was, after a conversation, agreed to.

On Clause 11, Mr. WHITBREAD hoped to get an assurance that the endowments of Bedford would not be interfered with by the bill. Mr. FORSTER said that this clause was one of the clauses from which an appeal was to be allowed. It was not intended to interfere with local endowments except for very strong reasons. The magnificent endowment at Bedford was no doubt performing a great work for the empire. Mr. HOWARD believed that considerable irritation would be allayed if the three commissioners were named at an early day. The clause was agreed to.

Clause 12.—Mr. WINTERTHAM proposed an amendment extending the endowments comprised in the bill to girls equally with boys. The whole of the endowments above the rank of primary schools were at present monopolised by boys, in many cases contrary to the intention of the founders. Mixed education for girls and boys might be carried on in secondary as well as in primary schools, and in that way any ill effect from taking away half the endowments from the boys would be avoided. The education of women of the middle and lower middle class was bad, scarce, and dear, though it appeared that in 1851 of 10,000,000 women more than 2,000,000 were engaged in industrial pursuits not domestic, and 100,000 were engaged in so-called professions, chiefly in teaching. Many more than that were now so employed, and for them, and also for those upon whom the influence of home depended, the wide gulf between the education of men and women must be narrowed. The only way in which the pre-eminence of the nation could be maintained was by the intellectual culture and moral elevation of the people, and though this bill was a step in the right direction, it was but a half measure; for if women were left uneducated, the effect must naturally be to retard the whole progress of society. (Hear, hear.) Mr. W. E. FORSTER was glad that the question had been introduced, and would not yield to the hon. member in the desire to improve the education of women; but it was impossible that the endowments could be given equally to boys and girls. They were dealing with funds already appropriated, and though he was anxious that the commissioners, in framing any scheme, should consider how far the endowments could be extended to girls, it would only be misleading if they were to insert words implying that Parliament looked forward to an equal division. Mr. FAWCETT looked upon the intellectual culture of girls as of at least equal importance with that of boys, and would support the amendment as a declaration that, so far as all future educational endowments were concerned, the benefits should be shared equally by boys and girls. Mr. B. HORN opposed the amendment, and Mr. HENLEY expressed the opinion that if any one wanted to "knock the bill up," he could not do it more effectually than by introducing the proposed words. The habit of the country was to send boys to school, while a large proportion of the girls were educated at home; a fact sufficient to upset the notion of equal distribution of these endowments. Mr. HOWARD would vote for the amendment, because it asserted the principle of equal rights as between boys and girls. Sir S. NORTHGOTE appealed to the member for Stroud, in the interest of the cause he had at heart, not to go to a division upon that which would be an ambiguous issue, though if the amendment were pressed he should feel it his duty to support it. It was not a question so much of equal as of substantial advantages, and he had proposed, before the Select Committee, words instructing the commissioners so to adjust the endowments that girls might derive

advantages from them in proportion to their needs. No one wished that women should be educated in the same way as men, but it was as important to society that they should be well educated in their sphere and according to their circumstances as that men should be educated. Mr. JACOB BRIGHT stated his intention of supporting the amendment if a division took place upon it. Girls had the capacity of learning whatever boys learnt, and if these words were inserted they would have the effect to some extent of correcting the false idea prevailing in the country that any kind of education was sufficient for a girl. Mr. WHITBREAD and Mr. DILLWYN hoped the amendment would be withdrawn, and the SOLICITOR-GENERAL, as a friend of the cause the mover had at heart, joined in that hope. A considerable advance in the cause of female education was made by the clause as it stood, because it directed the commissioners, as far as they conveniently could, to extend to girls the benefits of these educational endowments, and it would certainly not be further advanced by a direction which could not be carried out. He was anxious to see the benefits of educational endowments shared more largely by girls; but it must be done to a great extent in separate schools. The amendment was withdrawn, and the clause agreed to.

On Clause 15, which relates to religious education in day schools, Mr. B. HORN had no objection to the first part, by which children would not be compelled to attend the religious teaching of the school if their parents conscientiously objected to their doing so; but the second part, which authorised the parents, if the master or mistress persisted in religious teaching contrary to their wish, to lay a complaint before the governing body, would only lead to confusion and vexation. He moved the omission of the latter part of the clause. Mr. W. E. FORSTER said the objects of the section were to protect the conscientious schoolmaster in the discharge of his duties, and to prevent proselytising by indirect religious teaching. Mr. MOWBRAY and Mr. ADDERLEY supported, and the SOLICITOR-GENERAL opposed, the amendment. Mr. AGLAND observed that a conscience clause, to work fairly, must be fair on both sides, and there could be no better tribunal to appeal to than a body on the spot who took an interest in the schools. Mr. WALTER and Mr. E. BAINEs also supported the clause as it stood. Mr. HENLEY suggested that the clause would be much improved if the governing body were called upon to determine in the first instance whether the charge of particular religious teaching was reasonable. Mr. W. E. FORSTER believed that some such alteration as that would remove the difficulty. The amendment was withdrawn, and the suggestion of Mr. Henley was carried out, by the omission of the word "proved" and the substitution of the words "judged to be reasonable." The clause, as amended, was agreed to.

Clause 16—religious education in boarding schools—agreed to.

On Clause 19, Mr. CANDLISH moved an amendment to substitute twenty-five years for fifty as the time during which a testator's directions with reference to denominational instruction should not be contravened. Mr. MIALI supported the amendment, remarking that they ought to fall in with the spirit of the times, which was to limit the area of denominationalism in our educational institutions as much as possible. Mr. W. E. FORSTER said that part of the clause dealt with by the amendment had been inserted to meet the case of a founder having left directions without their having been embodied in the statutes of the school he endowed; and the provision was inserted at the unanimous wish of the committee. The amendment was negatived without a division.

Mr. GOLDNEY moved an amendment, the object of which was to preserve the religious character and endowments of Christ's Hospital. Mr. LOCKE complained that, under the clause as it stood, in schools like that of Tunbridge, where there were masters, boarders, and foundation scholars, two different systems of religious education would be established. The foundation scholars would be bound to the observance of Church of England ritual, whilst the boarders would be exempt. Mr. FORSTER objected to the amendment. Mr. AGLAND protested against making a school which had hitherto been conducted in such a tolerant spirit, now for the first time exclusively Church of England by Act of Parliament. Mr. M'LAREN protested strongly against the amendment. Mr. GOLDNEY withdrew his amendment, and the clause was after a short discussion agreed to. On Clause 24, Mr. GOLDNEY proposed a long amendment, elucidatory of the intention of the clause, and defining the proportions in which school revenues and endowments were to be extended, to which Mr. FORSTER acceded, and the clause was agreed to.

On Clause 20 Mr. LOWTHER suggested the omission of that part of the clause which provided for the diversion of "doles" and similar charitable bequests for educational purposes. After a discussion, Mr. HENLEY complained of the clause as "grabbing" at the small charities of the country for educational purposes. Mr. FORSTER adhered to the clause as it stood. Mr. MUNDELLA had received a number of communications from clergymen of the Church of England, complaining of the demoralising effects of doles, and he expressed a hope that at no distant day inquiries would be instituted with regard to these abused charities. Mr. HIBBERT believed that the trustees of these doles honestly endeavoured to carry out the intentions of the founders. Mr. J. FIELDEN and Mr. WALTER argued that the abuse of these charities could be no reason for applying the money to educational purposes. Mr. HENLEY suggested that a provision should be inserted, enabling parties interested in the receipt of these moneys to be heard before the division took place. Mr. W. E. FORSTER explained that that was provided for by a subsequent clause. The amendment was withdrawn.

Mr. PARKER proposed that loans and apprenticeship fees should be excluded in the clause, and thought there could be no objection to the proposal now that the consent of the governing body was required.

Mr. A. PERL, in support of the amendment, stated that in the borough of Warwick there was a fund called Sir Thomas White's charity, which was established for the purpose of assisting young tradesmen starting in business. There was now 7,000*l.* out on loan from the charity, but there was a surplus of 20,000*l.* which no one knew how to deal with. Mr. GRAYES added that there were also large accumulations upon funds established to provide apprenticeship fees, for which there were not the same demand as formerly. Mr. W. E. FORSTER assented to the reinsertion of those words which had been omitted by the Select Committee. The amendment was agreed to, and the clause ordered to stand part of the bill.

On Clause 31, Sir H. S. LAMONT proposed that the annual endowment, giving power to the school to submit a scheme of its own to be considered by the Committee of Council with the scheme of the commissioners, should be reduced from 2,000*l.* to 1,000*l.* Mr. W. E. FORSTER feared that the amendment would be productive of great inconvenience, but any suggestion from the trustees of the schools referred to would no doubt receive their careful consideration. He also pointed out that Clause 33 gave to every endowment power of suggesting an alternative scheme after receiving the proposal of the commissioners. The amendment was withdrawn, and the clause agreed to.

To Clause 36 Mr. GOLDNEY moved a proviso that in the event of the Committee of Council declining to adopt either the scheme of the governing body or the commissioners, the former might, within three months, submit to the commissioners an amended scheme. The proviso was added, and the clause as amended agreed to.

Mr. HENLEY moved to omit Clause 41, which provides that the schemes with regard to endowments under 100*l.* a year should be determined by the commissioners. He thought that in those cases, as well as in larger schools, the schemes should be laid before Parliament.

Mr. WALTER thought there should be some provision to secure publicity for these small schemes. Sir S. NORTHGOTE did not think that endowments, however small, should be dealt with by the commissioners without the parties interested having a voice in the matter. Mr. W. E. FORSTER considered that there was some weight in the suggestion as to publicity, and promised to consider before the report that and other observations which had been made with reference to this clause. Mr. NEWDEGATE urged that the various schemes should be embodied in a bill to be submitted to Parliament. Mr. W. E. FORSTER was anxious that there should be no feeling in the country that any of these small charities were to be ridden over roughshod, and therefore he agreed to omit the words, "And such scheme may be approved by her Majesty in Council, without being laid before Parliament." At the same time he reserved to himself liberty to propose upon the report a lower limit than the clause proposed, if, upon consideration, he should think it necessary. The words were omitted and the clause agreed to.

To Clause 53 words were added, on the motion of Mr. W. E. FORSTER, to prevent money being spent for building, without the consent of the commissioners, while the inquiry was going on.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER introduced a new clause with the object of dividing the old and new endowments. Agreed to.

The remaining clauses were agreed to, with cheers, and the House resumed.

The order for the appointment of a Committee on the Scotch Game Laws was discharged, Mr. BRUCE undertaking to consider the question, with a view to legislation as early as possible.

#### THE DUBLIN FREEMEN.

A motion by Mr. NOEL to issue a new writ for Dublin led to a sharp debate. Sir G. GREY, as an amendment, moved for leave to bring in a bill to disfranchise the Dublin freemen. In support of his motion he read extracts from Justice Keogh's report, showing the extent to which corrupt practices had prevailed among this class at the late election, and maintained that it was only by taking this course that the House could prove itself in earnest to the country in the repression of bribery. Mr. WARD-HUNT, exhorting the House to deal with the matter in a judicial spirit, held that it was unjust to Dublin to deprive it of half its representation in a session like this, and to the freemen that they should be all disfranchised for the fault of a few among them. And this he pointed out it was proposed to do without inquiry, although only a few weeks back the House had agreed to an address for an inquiry. Mr. H. JAMES supported Sir G. Grey, believing that the Act of last year must fail if the House did not evince its determination to punish bribery; but Mr. H. MATTHEWS objected to mixing up the innocent with the guilty, and maintained that disfranchisement ought not to go further than those who had been proved guilty. Two former members for Dublin, Mr. W. H. GREGORY and Mr. VANCE, gave their experiences of the constituency, the one declaring that in 1842 he had been called on to pay 4,600*l.* for bribing 1,600 freemen; and the latter protesting that at three of his elections not 50*l.* had been spent which could not be accounted for. Mr. O'REILLY and Mr. T. COLLINS made some observations, and on a division the House refused to issue the writ by a majority of 46—215 to 169. The opposition to the introduction of the disfranchising bill took the form of moving adjournments. The first was defeated by 178 to 72; but Sir G. GREY gave way to a second, and the House adjourned at half-past two o'clock.



## Postscript.

Wednesday, June 16th, 1869.

## YESTERDAY'S PARLIAMENT.

## THE IRISH CHURCH DEBATE.

In the House of Lords, Lord CAIRNS gave notice, amid loud cheers, that on Thursday he would inquire of Lord Granville whether Mr. Bright's letter were genuine, and, if so, whether the Ministry generally endorsed its views.

The debate on the second reading of the Irish Church Bill, the adjournment of which, however, it was understood had been moved by Lord LYTTON, was then resumed by

Lord GREY, who said he had listened in vain to Lord Harrowby's speech to discover the grounds on which he justified his conclusion that the rejection of the bill would be for the real advantage of the Church. He had himself opposed the Suspensory Bill, but he saw no inconsistency in now supporting the second reading of the present bill. The impossibility of maintaining the Irish Church as a State Church had been decided irrevocably by the general election. It was alleged that a great reaction had since occurred; but he saw no signs of it. He described his own attempts to procure formerly a small concession for the Irish nation on the subject of the Irish Church. Four times was his bill sent up to this House, and four times was it rejected. The question then went into abeyance, party leaders shrinking from its difficulties; but in the meantime opinion, which, like a river, could never be turned back to its source, had been becoming matured and unanimous against preserving the Irish Church as a State Church. And now, what, he asked, would be the consequences of rejecting the bill? It would probably be returned to them unchanged, and that perhaps very shortly. It might again, it was true, be rejected; but in some mode or other—he could not foresee what—the House would find itself forced to pass it; for it was not to be expected that the nation would ever give the measure up, and a permanent state of hostility between the two Houses was not to be thought of. The only result of thus exposing themselves to odium would be that the conflict would make it impracticable to improve the bill. On the contrary, if they adopted a wiser and more dignified course, they might compel the Government to accept amendments not inconsistent, indeed, with the principle of the bill, but most important, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury had pointed to.

The Archbishop of DUBLIN dilated on the unreasonable of the Government in expecting the Irish Church to be an agent in its own destruction. It was not for him to consider the bill from a political point of view; but, even on the assumption that some legislation on the subject of the Irish Church was necessary, he accused the Government of having not recognised any proper equities of transition. If the Irish Church were in a false position, that was the work of England, and it was unjust in the English Government now to throw the whole guilt of its former policy on the Church. The measure did not even carry out the promise of generosity with which it had been heralded. The Government took credit, indeed, for its application of the surplus to works of mercy; but there would be a taint of injustice about such charity which would make it unacceptable before Heaven. In point neither of finance nor of discipline did the bill make any adequate provision for this unfortunate Church, which was thus to be but adrift without warning.

The Bishop of St. DAVID's denied the proposition of the Duke of Rutland that the property of the Irish Church was in any special sense the property of God. Those grants, whether of a church or of a market, were, he held, most peculiarly gifts to God which were most beneficial to man. This was the test, and not the sanctity of the particular destination. The terms "sacrilege" and "robbery of God" were, then, utterly irrelevant, in his opinion, as applied to this subject of the Irish Church. No one was more convinced than himself of the opposition of Roman Catholicism to the best interests of mankind. No one was a greater friend to Protestant ascendancy. But his friendship was to its intellectual ascendancy. It was on that very account that he entertained so thorough an aversion from itinerant Protestant lecturers, and also from the habit of setting up the Pope as a standing scarecrow. Habit, it was known, took away the terror of a scarecrow, till in time the birds would come and build their nests within it. He had, however, a very sincere horror of the development of Roman Catholic influence in Ireland, where the priesthood could levy at will a spiritual distress. But that was only one special Irish phenomenon. There was another equally exceptional Irish phenomenon, and that was the Irish Established Church. Those two, he believed, held to each other the relation of cause and effect. He had, since he first began to take any interest in politics, felt persuaded of the expediency of settling the Irish Church on a new and more logical basis, but the close of the American civil war had surrounded with new dangers the *laissez aller* policy, which was under no circumstances a statesmanlike policy, while the cure of this Church grievance, on the other hand, would foster amiable and neighbouring feelings in Ireland. He agreed, then, with the Government in thinking the object of the bill kindly and just and prudent. But he confessed he had not been in the habit of considering the solution proposed by the bill the best possible one. He agreed with the Archbishop of Canterbury's

general dislike to voluntarism as applied to Churches, and he also doubted the necessity of the conclusion that because the Protestant Church must not be the Established Church of Ireland it must cease to be an Established Church. He acknowledged, however, that the course taken by many friends of the Irish Church had made the levelling-up process seem now impracticable. The only method left open, therefore, was perhaps the course advocated by the Archbishop of Canterbury on Monday night. He concluded by denying the analogy of Wales, where, he asserted, there was no greater opposition between the Dissenting bodies and the Church of England than there was within the Church between its different parties, and by justifying his intention to vote for the bill instead of simply standing neutral.

Lord CHELMSFORD declared his intention to vote against the bill.

Lord PENZANCE thought the argument of justice was all against the opponents of the bill. His own view, indeed, was that justice would only be fully satisfied by yielding to the Roman Catholic community in Ireland its fair proportion of State countenance. To do that fully, however, was, he admitted, impracticable in the condition of feeling in England. But the next just alternative was, if the Roman Catholics in Ireland were not permitted to have a State Church, that the rival Protestant society should not be allowed to retain its State Church. He ridiculed the notion that to destroy the Irish Church Establishment would injure the English. When the English Church ceased to be in unison with the national feeling, it would be time that it, too, should be disestablished. But that was not the case now, and the disestablished condition of the Irish Church was a scandal and a danger to the English. Finally, he urged the House not to let itself be goaded by menaces which had been thrown out into rejecting the bill. The House need not be afraid of its being supposed that it was compelled to act in a particular way merely because a great majority in the other House had decided for it. But, though absolutely independent of the other House, it was its duty to defer to the national will. The House had declared in effect last year that when that will was pronounced it must be deferred to, and at the general election it had been pronounced.

The Duke of RICHMOND, while announcing his intention not to support Lord Harrowby's amendment, inveighed against the bill as being made up of violence, injustice, and spoliation. No proper compensation was offered by it to the Irish Church, which was treated, indeed, less generously than Maynooth; the interests of the Protestant laity were still more grossly neglected; and he saw no prospect whatever of its pacifying Ireland. His reasons why, nevertheless, he could not vote against the second reading were—first, that the question on which the general elections of the autumn turned was disestablishment, and that the nation had decided for it by a vast majority; and, secondly, that by rejecting the measure on a second reading, the House would certainly not succeed in burying the bill, but would have it back on their hands in a very short time. If they gave the bill, on the other hand, a second reading, they would keep the power of amending it, and would thus, if the Government should reject their amendments, throw on it the responsibility for the consequences.

The Bishop of PATERBOROUGH, who was frequently and loudly cheered, and even applauded with clapping of hands by the strangers in the gallery, after comparing somewhat disparagingly the House with another large assembly, disclaimed opposing the bill as necessarily a violation either of the Coronation Oath or of the Treaty of Union, since both parties were in this case supposed to be assenting to the change of the original compact—or even as itself an attack on the rights of private property. Rather he warned the House against letting the corporate property of the Irish Church be infringed upon, for the very reason that it was corporate property, and that the attack on corporate property, if yielded to, foreshadowed an attack on private property, since sacrilege naturally preceded Communism. There were three main arguments which had been urged for the bill—viz., those of justice, of policy, and of the verdict of the nation having been pronounced in its favour. But he joined issue on each of these points. The Irish Church was said to be an injustice, as being opposed to religious equality, and because it was the Church of a minority. He allowed it was an instance of inequality; but so was the English Church. The only justification for any State Church, indeed, was, not the claims of the particular religious community, but that the State believed its own work could be done better by one religion than by another. As it was, this bill which pretended to be directed against religious inequality did in fact establish it. As for the argument that the Church was the Church of a minority, he did not see how the bill would appease the popular feeling of old injustice, unless not merely the inconsiderable part of the fruits of ancient injustice which the Church enjoyed, but in course of time also the infinitely larger possessions of the lay minority were also to be restored to their former owners. Then, secondly, the bill was supported on grounds of policy. But he was not sanguine of the effects of the measure as a means either of pacifying the Roman Catholic population, or of conferring on the Protestant Church the Apostolic virtues which were supposed to be necessary accompaniments of poverty, in respect of which it did not seem, however, to be remembered that if the Apostles were poor, so were their flocks. The bill was, in fact, only another of the favourite English specifics for dealing with Irish evils—viz., confiscations, except that formerly the possessions of foes

were taken, but now of friends. Lastly, as to the argument that the national verdict had been delivered against the Irish Church, he intimated some doubt how far it would be necessary to feel bound by that verdict, even if admitted to have been delivered, considering by what arts and misrepresentations of the Irish Church it had been extorted. But he vehemently denied that the national verdict had, in truth, been pronounced on this special measure, cruel and harsh and niggardly, if not worse, as it was in many particulars to which he referred, and utterly as it failed to redeem last year's pledges of justice and generosity. The measure had been put forward as a magnanimous specimen of national repentance for English injustice to Ireland. But the remarkable thing was that the bill placed the sackcloth on the Irish Church. In an eloquent peroration he warned members of the House against being moved by menaces as to the effect of an adverse vote. For himself, and, he believed, for them, important as was the verdict of the nation, he was persuaded there were verdicts yet more momentous—the verdict of the English nation of the future, and yet another and a higher verdict. In obedience to them he must resist the bill.

Lord DE GREY replied to the last speaker. So far from the disestablishment of the Irish Church endangering the English Church, the fact that the continued existence of the former could be asserted to be necessary for that of the latter would be a most powerful argument for the Liberation Society against the Church of England. He defended the Government against the charge of arrogance. The House might be assured that any amendments it might propose would be received respectfully. The arrogance, if any, was on the part of those who would by rejecting the bill in its present stage prevent other peers from attempting to amend it.

Lord CLANCARTY opposed the second reading.

Lord MONCK read extracts from letters from Canadian bishops in answer to the Archbishop of Canterbury's strictures on some statements of his respecting the success of the voluntary system in Canada.

Lord MALMESBURY, on behalf of Lord DERRY, moved the adjournment of the debate.

Several bills were read a third time, and the Lordships adjourned at five minutes to one o'clock.

At a morning sitting, the House of Commons got as far with the Committee on the Bankruptcy Bill as the last two clauses, dealing with compensations. Mr. AYTON, speaking on behalf of the Treasury, suggested that with regard to all officials below the Commissioners the circumstances of each claim for compensation should be investigated by that department, and the question was under consideration when the CHAIRMAN reported progress.

Upon the re-assembling of the House at nine o'clock, Mr. PHASE called the attention of the House to the subject of the duration of our coalfields; and obtained from Mr. H. VIVIAN some very interesting information as to the progress which the Royal Commission, appointed in 1867 to inquire into this matter, has made in its labours. As soon as Sir W. GALLWEY rose to call attention to the deficiencies of the Folkestone and Boulogne packet service, the House was counted out at a quarter past ten o'clock.

## MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

The weather during the last few days being unfavourable for the growing crops, the trade for English wheat, of which only a moderate quantity was on sale, was firm, and full prices were realised. With Foreign Wheat the market was fairly supplied. The demand was firm, but not active; and the quotations were well maintained. The show of barley was moderate. Transactions were restricted, at previous current prices. Malt was dull, but unaltered. There was very little inquiry for oats. Good sound corn was steady in value, but inferior produce was drooping. Beans were inactive, at late rates. Peas met a slow sale, at previous quotations. For flour the market was firm, at last week's prices. Linseed and rapeseed were in moderate request. Agricultural seeds were steady. Cakes were unchanged.

## ARRIVALS THIS WEEK.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Malt.	Oats.	Flour.
English & Scotch	130	—	—	—	—
Irish	—	—	—	—	—
Foreign	2,790	—	—	17,680	180 sks

## COMPARATIVE QUANTITIES AND PRICES OF GRAIN.

For the week ended June 12.				For the corresponding week last year.			
	Qrs.	Av. a d.		Qrs.	Av. a d.		
Wheat	59,530	45 0	Wheat	23,127	67 6		
Barley	514	57 1	Barley	547	42 2		
Oats	1,391	26 6	Oats	1,327	30 4		

THE FRENCH ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH.—The Great Eastern steamship left Sheerness on Saturday, and the Nore on Sunday, for Portland, where she is to coal, preparatory to commencing the work of laying a special cable between France and the United States. She is to leave Portland next Sunday, for Brest, where, in the meantime, the shore end of the cable will be laid. The Great Eastern then steams out with the cable to St. Pierre, a small island off Newfoundland, from whence the remaining distance to Boston, over 600 miles, will be laid by a smaller steamer. A few years ago, when the Great Eastern first left Sheerness on a similar duty, great public interest was excited, and vast crowds of persons assembled to witness her departure. On this occasion comparatively few persons mustered to do honour to the great leviathan and its task, although it is expected that if successful the fact of a third wire between the two continents will effect a great reduction in the cost of ordinary messages between England and the States.



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## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"W. G. Wood."—It is contrary to our rule to admit the discussion of theological questions in the columns of the *Nonconformist*.

"C. R."—His letter is, for obvious reasons, inadmissible.

# The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16, 1869.

## SUMMARY.

THE great Irish Church debate in the House of Lords was renewed last night, and was again favourable to the second reading of the Government Bill. Lord Lytton, for some unexplained reason, did not favour the House with his expected oration, which had probably some influence in drawing together a very crowded auditory. His lordship was expected to follow in the wake of Lord Stratford on Monday night, by opposing the amendment. Earl Grey, however, did unaccustomed service by pronouncing heartily in favour of accepting the second reading, on the ground that resistance was dangerous and futile. Later in the evening, his arguments were reinforced by the Duke of Richmond, an ex-Cabinet Minister, who, convinced that the gravity of the issues now at stake superseded all party ties and all personal friendships, declined to support Lord Harrowby's amendment. The other notable speeches of the evening were made by members of the Episcopal Bench. Archbishop Trench, of course, took the "no surrender" line, but his speech savoured too much of pulpit exhortation and warning to produce a great impression. The Bishop of St. David's courageously avowed his intention to vote for the Bill, and in a logical and statesmanlike speech he showed that one great cause of Roman Catholic success in Ireland was the maintenance of an unpopular Establishment. Dr. Thirlwall, though in favour of "concurrent endowment" admits that that policy is obsolete, but he derides the fears of those who think that because the State Church is about to be abolished, Ireland is likely to be given over to Romanism. In a lively and impassioned speech the Bishop of Peterborough denounced the Bill, and many a peer who will not dare to vote as he would wish no doubt joined in the cheers which greeted Dr. Magee in his outburst of eloquence on behalf of his Irish Episcopal brethren. By the statement of a few authentic facts, which went to show that the Episcopal Church in Canada is in a very flourishing condition, Viscount Monck disposed of one of the pleas of the Bishop of Derry and other speakers on the preceding evening. Lord Derby resumes the debate on Thursday night, and the division—if a division should eventually be taken—will not be recorded before Saturday morning, when, it is fully expected, an adequate majority will agree to read the Bill a second time.

Apart from the Endowed Schools Bill, which on Monday went through Committee, the House of Commons has not been engaged in very exciting business. By the help of a morning sitting yesterday, nearly all the clauses of the elaborate bill for the reform of our bankruptcy system have been got through with little alteration, and there is now reason to hope that it will be carried this Session. The discussion on Lord Elcho's scheme for an effective army reserve was chiefly remarkable for the speech of Mr. Cardwell, who resolutely declined to resort to any coercive measures for filling up the ranks either of the army or the militia. The Secretary for War explained various measures that are to be adopted for improving the organisation of our

military force, including a reduction of the term of service. The Opposition, on Monday night, made a desperate rally on behalf of the Dublin freemen! The Lords not having agreed upon the necessity of an inquiry into the late election for that city, Sir George Grey has brought in a bill to disfranchise the Dublin freemen, which was strongly opposed by Mr. Ward Hunt and other leading Conservatives, and defeated by repeated motions for adjournment. Mr. Gladstone has, however, put the Bill first on the orders of the day for tomorrow, and the Government will, no doubt, be sustained by an overwhelming majority.

Nottingham has done something to redeem its reputation. The return of Mr. Seely, jun., after a close struggle, may we hope be taken as a sign that the Toryism and blackguardism of that town—we do not wish to insinuate that the terms are synonymous—are no longer to profit by Liberal divisions. The rejection of Mr. Digby Seymour means that Nottingham is not the political heirloom of any family, and that, in these critical times, what is called Independent Liberalism, or facing both ways, is not popular. We cordially welcome the deliverance of this great Midland town from public-house and mob domination. Mr. George Potter, though well supported, to his great credit withdrew his claims rather than stand in the way of a triumph which is more moral than political. It seems strange that Mr. Seely's early majority of 1,300 should have been reduced at the close of the poll to 109. Probably the Tories, as time elapsed, rallied to the side of his opponent. Of course there was the customary rioting and window-smashing, but a body of armed pensioners kept the "lamb" in check, though Mr. Seely narrowly escaped personal injury. So far as the election turned on any public question at all, the Irish Church Bill was the issue, and the decision was in favour of the Government. A staunch Liberal succeeds a democratic Tory.

As the result of the recent riots in Paris a thousand or two of people are in custody; and in due course we suppose the majority, who appear to have been innocent of any insurrectionary tendencies, will be released. Few of the Republican chiefs have been taken—indeed, it is believed that they are not implicated—and the disturbances seem to have been originated by "young ruffians" without leader, organisation, or object. The Government can afford to be lenient, and are evidently embarrassed with the multitude of prisoners. Meanwhile the Duke de Persigny has shown in a published letter that the Empire and freedom are not incompatible, and that a just and firm Government can bear every liberty. This trusted Imperial adviser recommends Napoleon III. to call to his councils a new set of men, young, strong, intelligent, and, above all, courageous and earnest; and Prince Napoleon is said to plead for the inauguration of a Liberal system of Government, and the recognition of Ministerial responsibility. The Emperor listens to all, but at present keeps his own counsel. Probably he will declare himself at Auxerre, on the 27th of this month.

Mr. Sumner has, after all, done England an indirect service by his extravagances. The United States Government, though not just at present prepared to renew the Alabama negotiations, are convinced of the untenable nature of any claim arising out of the issue of the Neutrality Proclamation of 1861. It has been discovered that President Lincoln's Ministers had already been committed to approval of a similar step taken by Spain, and the learned and timely address of President Woolsey of Yale College has reduced Mr. Sumner's conclusions to an absurdity. There now only remain for consideration the pecuniary claims arising out of the Alabama escapade, which our Government are ready to submit to arbitration. Some time must elapse ere the Washington Cabinet can extricate itself from the false position into which the United States have been placed by the rejection of the late Convention. It has been seriously proposed that the ground taken by Mr. Sumner shall be accepted as the basis of party action by the Republicans at the next elections. But this policy of desperation is not accepted by the leaders. The Americans are more wearied than ourselves of the Alabama grievance, and will soon, we doubt not, clamour for its removal.

## THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS BILL.

THE Right Hon. W. E. Forster, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, has had the rare good fortune—a fortune mainly to be attributed to his high intellectual and moral qualities—of succeeding, as if by magic, where other men have signally failed. On Monday night he conducted through a Com-

mittee of the whole House, without any material alteration, and without a single division, his Bill relating to Endowed Schools, as amended by the Select Committee to which it had been referred. The measure consists of fifty-eight clauses. The powers given to the Commissioners who will be appointed to carry out its provisions are almost despotic. The interests which will come under their cognisance and will be subject to their sway, are numerous, various, and, in the greater number of cases, ill-inclined to brook external interference. In the hands of any other man the task undertaken by Mr. Forster would have been well nigh hopeless. In his, it has, as regards its reforming and temporary sections, been admirably and, as far as the public is concerned, noiselessly accomplished. Few statesmen have achieved so great a triumph with so little ostentation.

The reasons for this are not far to seek. In the first place, the work is one that deeply interests his own mind. If Mr. Forster can be said to have a hobby, public education is undoubtedly that hobby. His official enterprise was therefore prosecuted *con amore*. In the next place, he had made himself thoroughly master of his subject. As a member of the Schools Inquiry Commission he not only acquired, but digested and systematised, the vast amount of information laid before that body, and, in his speech on the second reading of his Bill, he showed that his insight into the subject was unusually penetrating and clear. Then, in addition to his indomitable industry, he possesses the art of persuasion in an extraordinary degree. While in manner somewhat brusque, in temper he is patient, in spirit courteous, in action considerate and just. The House of Commons believes in him—not only in his sincerity, but in his conscientious determination that no part of his work shall be scamped. He might have easily presented his measure to the House in such a way as would have been sure of raising party conflicts. He has got through its critical stages, not only without causing any soreness to those who originally differed from him, but, to a very gratifying extent, with their approval and co-operation.

The Endowed Schools Bill is second only in importance, and in breadth of purpose, to the Irish Church Bill, to which, indeed, although in relation to a different object, it bears some analogy. It has its Commissioners as that has, and, under the responsibility and control of the Council of Education, it vests in them extraordinary powers. With certain specified exceptions, and within certain prescribed limits, it authorises them to deal with all the educational endowments in the kingdom, for the purpose of extracting from them the best educational results. Their functions, it is true, are limited by this Bill to a temporary object—that, namely, of reconstructing Endowed Schools. But their powers, while carefully guarded against caprice and abuse, are ample for the end for which they were given. Their chief business will consist in not merely considering, but also in applying schemes for the beneficial application of existing endowments to meet the educational wants of those for whom they were founded. Neither governing bodies, nor trustees, nor masters, can stand in their way. They will have all the authority of the Court of Chancery to remodel the institutions which the Bill puts within their range. In regard to the evil they may do, they are compassed by stringent limitations; in regard to the good they may propose, the discretion given to them is all but unrestricted. Much, of course, will depend upon the character and qualifications of the men to be selected as Commissioners—much also upon the wisdom and temper of the Vice-President of the Council—but these being premised, one can see no reason why, in the course of the next ten years, the educational endowments of the country should not be made to do all the useful work which it is possible, in the nature of things, to get out of them.

In regard to the religious, or rather the ecclesiastical, character of Endowed Schools, the Bill is as satisfactory as it can be made in the present transitional state of public opinion. No religious teaching, no attendance upon worship at a particular church or chapel, is to be insisted upon in reference to scholars whose parents object. In fact, no school is to be treated as a denominational school, unless where it is clearly provided for in the deed of foundation, or under the authority of the founder, or by statutes or regulations made within fifty years of his death, and continued in force down to the present time. And in respect to all endowments not made denominational by these conditions, the governing bodies or trustees will be open to Dissenters as well as Churchmen, who may, if they think fit, and for anything contained in this Bill, appoint masters irrespectively of the ecclesiastical communion to which they may be



attached. The greater number of what are called Edward the Sixth's Grammar Schools will thus be de-sectarianized, or, in other words, will cease to be exclusively Church-of-England institutions. When the question was first brought forward by Mr. Dillwyn in the House of Commons, at the instance of the Liberation Society, some eight or ten years ago, there was little expectation, even in the minds of the most sanguine, that these rights would be so speedily obtained. Justice, however, once awake, asserts a commanding power; and what but yesterday seemed impracticable, is yielded to-day without even the necessity of a struggle.

We heartily congratulate Mr. Forster on his large and substantial triumph, and we congratulate the country upon what we hope and believe will be its fruits. Every week raises our increased wonder at, and thankfulness for, the altered spirit of the age. The labours and watchings, the disappointments and weariness, of long years of seed-time, have not been in vain. Those who gave or who experienced them, are now reaping a rich harvest. Let them accept it with profoundest gratitude!

#### THE PARIS RIOTS.

THE luck of the Emperor Napoleon has not deserted him. For his own personal and dynastic interests nothing could have happened more opportunely than the senseless tumults which last week agitated the French capital. As is customary on such occasions, the riots are said to have been secretly instigated by the Government. The theory is not, in this case at least, very probable. In the first place, no one could foretell the consequences of inciting the turbulent portion of a population reckless of results and full of resources in street conflicts. Next, there was imminent risk of bloodshed and massacre, which might have provoked a revolution, and would certainly in the end have been fatal to the Imperial régime. And, thirdly, the suppression of a street outbreak would still leave a formidable minority in the Legislature, to wage bitter war against the Government, not less effectual because carried on from the tribune. We see no reason against adopting a less recon-dite view as to the origin of these disturbances. Partially successful at the first election, the "irreconcilables," or Democratic Republicans, were signally defeated at the second ballot. Failing in the polling-booth, they descended into the streets, in the hope that what could not be secured by legal means might be extorted by violence. The Reds have not only been thwarted but covered with ridicule.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the beneficial consequences of this curious *fiasco*. Last week's failure demonstrates that French revolutions of the traditional type are things of the past. Paris, beautified and expanded, with broad streets and grand boulevards, is no longer adapted for barricade warfare. Its wide thoroughfares can be easily swept clear by the cavalry without danger to human life. But, what is of more consequence, the population no less than the city is changed. A new generation has sprung up unversed in, and averse to street conflicts. There was no moral sentiment to back up the late rioters. Public opinion, however opposed to the continuance of an autocratic form of government—which was manifested peaceably, and with sufficient emphasis, at the recent election—is not, like *La Lanterne*, favourable to a general subversion of society. The mass of *ouvriers* gave it no support, not a few Radicals aided the authorities in suppressing the riots, and at the height of the disorder, the Emperor and Empress could ride in an open carriage without escort the whole length of the boulevards, amid the general plaudits of the populace. Altogether the events of last week reveal a new and hopeful phase of Parisian politics. The love of order, which is after all the foundation of freedom, has grown upon the population, and it is no slight gain for Parisians to recognise the truth that violent revolutions are not the cradle of free institutions, and that patience is a more serviceable ally than barricades.

By the stupid blunders of his implacable enemies Napoleon III. has to a great extent recovered his *prestige*. Faith in the power, resources, and moderation of his Government has been renewed. Consummate sagacity was shown in dealing with the tumultuous assemblages of the last week. With an overwhelming force at command, it was so skilfully used that the rioters were circumvented and disarmed without bloodshed. Not a shot was fired by the well-armed troops. What might have been the beginning of a revolution has degenerated into aimless parades, the destruction of the property of poor people, and ignominious flight. There was not a single heroic ingredient in these riots which could command the respect, or even per-

manently excite the alarms, of the sensitive Parisians. The partisans of *La Lanterne* have courted contempt, and the once formidable Henri Rochefort has become discredited and obsolete.

A week ago, to all appearance, the Napoleon dynasty seemed destined sooner or later to collapse. It seems possible that by wisdom and the right use of his opportunities, the Emperor may weather the lowering storm. He has only to work with the French people instead of against them, and his success will be assured. It is manifest from the events of the last two weeks that the country is not irreconcilable to himself. Neither a foreign war nor threats of military coercion are needed to restore confidence in his Government. France is not unreasonable, nor averse to change. But she must be at least on a par with her neighbours in the freedom of her institutions, and she has given something like a pledge that by the concession of constitutional rights she does not mean the overthrow of the Imperial dynasty. There is reason to hope that the Emperor, wearied by isolation, and encouraged by the signs of returning popularity, is by no means averse to surrender the principle of personal government, and strengthen his throne by sharing his responsibilities with the representatives of the people. The issue of last week's riots in Paris, so far from proving an obstacle to this desideratum, will probably hasten its realisation.

#### OXFORD BUFFOONERY.

WHAT is called "The Oxford Commemoration" has once more been enacted. This annual "festival" as it is ironically termed, takes place in the Sheldonian Theatre in the presence of a crowded and brilliant audience. It has come to be the Saturnalia of the Undergraduates, who muster in the gallery—a broad farce without any redeeming point or humour. Last Wednesday's proceedings, as reported in the *Times*, were simply stupid and disgusting. While the visitors were arriving, the students kept up a perpetual din worthy of Bartlemy Fair. A furious onslaught, we are told, was made on an unfortunate bachelor who had happened unthinkingly to adorn his neck with a somewhat conspicuous kerchief. Shouts of "green tie" arose, and were repeated *usque ad nauseam* for the space of fully three-quarters of an hour, and not until the object of these silly attentions had left the hall did the tumult partially subside. Next came the turn of the ladies who congregated in large numbers on these occasions. The "Ladies in yellow," "in green," "in blue," &c., were from time to time given and cheered. When varieties of colour failed, other categories were resorted to, and tribute was paid to "Pretty faces," to the "Girls of the period," to the "Ladies engaged," the "Ladies unattached," the "Chaperones," the "Ladies in hats," the "Ladies in spectacles," the "Ladies that wear their own hair"—(prolonged cheering),—and "All the ladies." These impertinences being exhausted, a succession of political cries followed from the vigorous lungs of Young Oxford. As usual the names of the strongest Tories were clamorously applauded, and "Gladstone" and "John Bright" as heartily execrated. It is the fashion of Oxford undergraduates, at least the mass of them, to begin life with that hard Conservatism with which old men are apt to leave off. When the procession of University authorities had entered the Hall, the Public Orator delivered the Crewian Oration, and was throughout interrupted by a running fire of questions and remarks, which provoked an indignant remonstrance from the Vice-Chancellor. Then came the recitation of the prizes—there being no honorary degrees to confer—but little was heard of them. When this part of the programme was nearly finished attention was attracted to a "white hat," held, though not worn, by a gentleman in the area. At the sight of this obnoxious article, "the infuriated mob of undergraduates could do nothing but rave and hoot; and the Vice-Chancellor, unable to obtain attention, rose from his seat, and, accompanied by the Doctors, left the building." Thus ended the Oxford Commemoration of 1869.

This kind of thing—senseless clamour and stupid horse-play—is enacted from year to year, till distinguished persons decline to go through the offensive ordeal of receiving an honorary degree, and the festival has degenerated into a mere exhibition of foolery and howling. We would respectfully invite the attention of Mr. Matthew Arnold to this display of Oxford manners. Here, if anywhere—at this venerable University, where the cream of the English aristocracy receives its educational finish, and among that crowd of noisy youths, which is supposed to contain our embryo legislators, hereditary and otherwise—ought to be dis-

covered the "sweetness and light" for which that philosopher so much craves. If Oxford be not a school for good manner, where can we find it? Much may be said for youthful blood and effervescence, but well-trained students, however exuberant, are not accustomed to sink the gentleman in the buffoon. If such an exhibition of silly vulgarity took place at any working men's meeting, the public would cry shame. Ought we to shut our eyes to rudeness and want of chivalry when manifested by the scions of ennobled families, and by youths preparing to take the position of spiritual teachers of the people? But academical authorities wink at, if they do not encourage, the stupid custom, or at least lack the moral courage or influence to suppress it.

This annual illustration of University life, at least in one of its phases, cannot be taken alone. No thoroughly sound and liberal system of education could produce such external results. When it is urged that the Universities are the exclusive patrimony of the Church, and that most of the tutors are in holy orders—may we not ask whether such are the substantial fruits of clerical teaching? Proficiency in Latin poetry and patristic lore may be desirable accomplishments, but such learning is of little avail if self-respect and self-restraint are wanting. Such strictures are by no means irrelevant even in the *Nonconformist*. Oxford is the greatest of our national seminaries, where the *élite* of our governing classes are, or are supposed to be, educated, and where the youth of every class ought to receive a university training. All have an interest in the reputation and efficiency of its colleges. It cannot be denied that the University has improved of late years, thanks to the liberal reforms enforced from without, and to the infusion of new blood. Still, an intelligent foreigner inspecting our institutions might very easily, even now, run away with the notion that Oxford was as much a great gymnasium as a seat of learning. Probably the larger proportion of young men there are more intent upon boat-racing and athletic sports than in furnishing their minds for the battle of life. And it is more than probable that this excessive worship of muscularity is not unconnected with the coarse scenes of the yearly Commemoration, as well as with those injurious habits which were prominently referred to in the evidence given before the late Commission. The opponents of Sir J. D. Coleridge's Universities Bill, now before the House of Commons, make a great point of the serious moral and religious results of overthrowing clerical supremacy at Oxford. But it can now hardly be maintained, except in irony, that the Undergraduates, though subject to the full measure of Church influence at Oxford, are, on the whole, pupils of whom the dominant sect has reason to be proud. It is only further reforms, the destruction of the clerical monopoly, and the advent of a new and more assiduous class of students, that will most effectually extinguish such scandals as the scenes of Commemoration Day.

#### RAILWAYS AND TRAMWAYS.

SOME years ago, when the railway mania was at its height, when speculative country linen-draper suddenly found himself exalted to the bewildering dignity of railway kings, and the *habitudes* of Capel-court had not become alarmed by the first whispers of the coming storm which was destined to carry confusion and dismay into stock-jobbing circles, and to cruelly wreck the domestic happiness of many an unsuspecting household, it was confidently asserted, over and over again, that the halcyon days of the highroads were past, that they would rapidly disappear before the increasing development of the railway system, even as the stage-coach had timidly fled before the snorting locomotive. So powerful and energetic was the spirit of railway enterprise then everywhere prevalent, that few cared to question the possibility of the prediction becoming realised. The success of the gigantic railway revolution appeared inevitable. The age of reckless scepticism was succeeded by a period of unlimited and unquestioning confidence. Instead of expressing themselves as of old, when they uttered their strong disbelief in the possibility of a vessel propelled by steam safely crossing the Atlantic, our scientific men began to declare their conviction that with the assistance of the wonderful motive power which the genius of Watt had so successfully taught us to utilise, mechanical impossibilities no longer existed. Every town and village was, in due time, to have its own railway, provided the requisite capital proved forthcoming. This pleasant dream was, however, rudely demolished by the fearful railway crisis which so seriously imperilled the industrial interests of this



country, and permanently weakened the faith of the public in the security of railway enterprise. Later still, when the experiences of the past were beginning to be forgotten, the ominous revelations which took place in connection with the Great Eastern, the London, Chatham and Dover, and other railways, revived popular distrust, and caused the capitalist world to regard with suspicion, if not unconquerable aversion, every new railway scheme, however well organised or honestly devised.

There can be no doubt that a considerable portion of our existing railway system is little better than a huge mistake. As a whole, it possesses neither purpose nor design. Not a few English railways have been constructed less with the view of satisfying the actual requirements of the public or the districts through which they pass, than of providing a certain class of railway contractors with the means of building colossal fortunes at the expense of others, and working their way into Parliament. The natural consequence of this is, that notwithstanding the many miles of railway communication existing in this country, the public is still badly served in the matter of conveyance, while the fares are often most exorbitant compared with those demanded in most parts of the United States and the Continent. Costly lines have been formed where the available traffic was utterly insufficient for their bare maintenance; rival lines, in some places running almost side by side, have been constructed where only one was required; while branch lines have been made to places where the offices of station-master and booking-clerk have to this day partaken of a ludicrous character. At the same time, whole districts possess scarcely any available means of railway communication with other districts; and even where the desired communication does exist, the mutually absurd jealousy and selfishness of railway officials is frequently found neutralising any advantages which might be expected to arise from the same. Had the well-considered system of the late Mr. Gray been adopted, we should have been spared many existing anomalies and costly inconveniences. There would have been a series of great trunk lines, radiating from the metropolis to the great centres of manufacturing industry and to the seaports, with smaller branch lines to the minor towns and districts, each so arranged that no place of any importance would have been overlooked. If we take the leaf of a tree or shrub and examine the manner in which its fibres are disposed, we gain an idea of the principles on which our railway system ought to be based. There are, first, the main fibres; from these diverge the lesser fibres, which in turn shoot forth smaller fibres, until the whole leaf is covered with a complete, yet harmoniously formed network of fibres, which admirably answer the purposes for which they are designed.

To make the principal existing railways pay more largely, and thus enable their proprietors to initiate the numerous improvements which the interest and convenience of the public alike demand, a considerably increased amount of passenger and goods traffic must be obtained. This is to be procured only by means of proper feeders or branch lines, but the cost of constructing these frequently exceeds the possibility of the expenses being recouped by the proceeds of the traffic procurable thereon, as the shareholders of the Great Eastern Railway discovered long since to their great dismay and loss. But where the amount of traffic is limited, why construct railways at all? Is not the tramway system, with carriages propelled by steam-power, as in the United States, cheaper and more available? The economical advantages arising from the employment of tramways as an auxiliary means of locomotion in connection with the leading railroads have long been apparent, but engineering and other powerful vested interests prevented them from being adopted, and, for a lengthened period, contrived to place them under a cloud; the braggart and unsatisfactory experiments of the eccentric Mr. Train contributing not a little to this unseemly result. But the beginning of a new state of things is apparent. In the success of the Metropolitan Tramway Bills before Parliament we can detect the thin end of the wedge destined ultimately to break up many existing railway abuses. To read the evidence offered in opposition to these Bills, one might naturally think that the projected metropolitan tramways could not fail to seriously affect the local omnibus traffic; whereas they would rather tend to increase the same by taking it up at the point where it terminates in connection with the omnibuses. In fact, it is in the metropolitan suburbs, as on the roads between the principal provincial railway stations and small towns, that the value and utility of the tramways are likely to prove most largely recognised. In the crowded streets of

a city or town they would become both a nuisance and a perpetual source of danger. At first, the carriages are to be drawn by horses, but this must be regarded merely as a temporary expedient, for the ultimate employment of steam is inevitable. So far as the metropolis is concerned, the effect will be to yet further cheapen and facilitate the means of living in the suburbs, and possibly to aid in solving the vexed problem of finding proper dwelling accommodation for the working classes. The movement in favour of cheap trains for working men shows how heavily, even oppressively, the present cost of railway transit tells on the limited means of our artisans. In the leading transatlantic cities the working men habitually make use of the tramways in going to and from their labour; but in this country the railway is comparatively little patronised by them for such a purpose. As to the omnibuses, they are not used at all, except on those routes where the force of competition has reduced the fares to a penny or twopenny, on which terms the vehicles are seldom, if ever, empty.

It is more than probable that the projected tramways will speedily create a new traffic of their own almost solely from the working classes, whose interests have been, from the first, systematically overlooked by the managers of our leading metropolitan lines. The small cost of construction, the large size of the carriages, the cheapness, ease, and speed with which they can be propelled, either by horse or steam power, the facility with which the carriages can be instantaneously stopped at any point of the journey for the purpose of taking up or setting down passengers, and the readiness with which branch tramways can be formed where requisite, will combine to assist in promoting the popularity of the new mode of conveyance, and accelerate many much-needed reforms in the construction of the carriages at present in public use on road and rail. Those who have travelled in the large and roomy tramway cars of New York, or even in those of our own Manchester, are not likely to remain in any degree enamoured of the close, stifling, jolting, and uncomfortable wooden boxes on wheels, with which our metropolitan thoroughfares are so liberally supplied by the monopolist companies; nor is an acquaintance, however slight, with the ample carriage accommodation provided on many of the Canadian and United States railways calculated to render an Englishman proud of that which not a few railway companies here deem sufficient for his use. That the new tramways will, if properly managed, prove sources of much profit to the shareholders in the same may be taken for granted. The risk is really so small, and the chances of profit so numerous, that when once the tramways have fairly established themselves in the vicinity of the metropolis, we shall find their use becoming general in every part of the kingdom, especially, as before mentioned, in districts where the local traffic is not sufficient to cover the expense of constructing branch railways. Indeed, the promoters of the tramway system do not themselves seem to be fully aware of the real magnitude of the revolution they are so busily engaged in preparing. They are indirectly opening the way for bringing the cost of passenger transit within the range of all but the very poorest, and of achieving reforms in vehicular conveyance which even the generally irresistible influence of public opinion has for once proved powerless to effect. Whether these results become perceptible in our own time or in that of our children, they are inevitable. The days of costly railroads in this country are at an end; those of comparatively inexpensive tramways are commencing. May their anticipated success and prosperity not be retarded by that wild and destructive speculative spirit which has so long proved the bane of railway enterprise.

**AN AFFECTING DEATH SCENE.**—An affecting and shocking occurrence took place near Longtown on Thursday. An old man, named David Park, and his wife, were employed casting peats on the Solway Moss, near to the Gap Farm, and about midday the old man was in the act of taking out the under portion of what is termed on the Border the "peat pot," when the upper portion of the breast gave way with a fearful rush, and buried the old man completely underneath. His distracted wife, who had just time to escape, having perceived the danger, now rushed to the place, and tore the earth from off her buried partner's face, and also succeeded in releasing one of his hands; but seeing that death was near, she sat down with calm resignation, and, with hands clasped together, the aged couple, alone, breathed comfort to each other for about ten minutes, when the end of the old man came. His face being clear of the rubbish, he was able to breathe a prayer for his partner, whom he had thus so suddenly and so awfully been called from. Immediately after death the body was released from its dark abode.

## Foreign and Colonial.

### FRANCE.

#### SERIOUS RIOTS IN PARIS.

In our last number we stated that there had been rather ominous disturbances at Paris arising out of the election excitement, but that the streets were cleared by the police and municipal guard. On Wednesday evening there was an encounter between the police and some of the citizens at Belleville. On Thursday night the disturbances assumed a much more alarming character. The mob, or rather mobs, became directly aggressive. Red flags were hung out in the Faubourg St. Antoine. Gangs of men armed with bars of iron broke into the offices of the General Cab Company and smashed the windows of several houses on the Boulevard de la Villette. In the very heart of Paris a band of 300 persons poured through the Rue Richelieu, "destroying everything they could lay hands on." Several attempts were made to erect barricades. In one street an omnibus was upset with this object. On the Boulevard Montmartre, opposite the Théâtre des Variétés, the rioters pulled down kiosks, swept the cafés clear of chairs and tables, and began piling them in the roadway. The municipal soldiery, reinforcing the police, prevented the completion of the work, but not before the street lamps had been extinguished and a scene of wild commotion had occurred. There were charges of cavalry from the east end of the Boulevard Montmartre as far as the Madeleine. Last evening the disturbances were renewed, and the Government, who had hitherto relied on the police and municipal guard (practically a military force), called out the regular troops. At midnight Paris was completely in a state of military occupation from one end to the other—the garrison of Versailles at the Madeleine in the west; artillery from Vincennes at the Barrière du Trône in the east; the Tuileries and surrounding streets a perfect camp, and detachments of horse and foot patrolling the city in all directions.

Writing on Friday, the correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* says:—

The Boulevards are crowded to excess by persons anxious to witness the amount of damage done last night. The sight of kiosks, some overthrown and others with their windows shattered, repays the badauds. At about five o'clock the Emperor and Empress, in open carriage, and four, drove along, and the crowd, perhaps taken by surprise, actually manifested some enthusiasm, and cheered their Majesties, who were without escort of any kind. About twenty persons even ran behind the carriage waving their hats and wishing the Emperor long life. His Majesty, who looked much better than on the day of the Grand Prix, appeared touched at this unusual reception, and it is difficult to estimate the good that may result from his drive through Paris.

Last evening the Prefect of Police had bills posted up, imploring all good citizens to remain at home and not encourage the rioters. Few took the Prefect's advice, and as soon as dinner was over the whole population of Paris swarmed into the streets. The Boulevards at ten o'clock were completely blocked with a dense multitude, and vehicles were forced to take to the bye-streets. Up to this hour no police were visible, but strong detachments soon afterwards took possession of the Boulevard Montmartre, and the cavalry of the Garde de Paris made its appearance. All the cafés and shops were shut, there were cries of "Vive Rochefort," the "Marseillaise" was sung, whistles were produced, a number of men in blouses armed with pieces of hoarding made a desperate clamour, and an orator mounted on the top of a cab and proposed the downfall of the Empire. Fresh detachments of Garde de Paris, horse and foot, having arrived, there was a rolling of drums, and the crowd was summoned to disperse. Out of the thousands of persons who thronged both pavement and roadway but a small percentage was out for deliberate mischief. Most of the people obeyed the summons to disperse, but a small band showed a more resolute front, and numerous arrests were effected. Cries were now raised of "Vive La Lanterne!" and "A bas la police!" and an attempt was made in the Rue Vivienne, close to the Boulevard Montmartre, to break open the gunshop of M. Lefebvre, who had taken the precaution to remove all his arms during the day. The tumult along the Boulevards lasted until after midnight, when the Garde de Paris, horse and foot, made a charge, and swept them clear from the Porte St. Denis to the Madeleine. Away from the centre of Paris, at Belleville, Charonne, Grenelle, and in the Faubourg Saint Antoine, the *émeute* assumed a more savage character than in the city, and the crowd proceeded to damage and smash where damaging and smashing were possible. In some groups men were seen armed with bars of iron, with which they struck right and left, abattering the lamps and shop windows, and others had revolvers and knives. In troublesome Saint Antoine, some vehicles were upset, and an attempt was made to make a barricade, but with all this no fighting has taken place beyond a few blows exchanged with fist and cudgel. The Boulevards remain crowded, and several arrests have been effected; amongst them the editors of the *Siccle*, the *Rappel*, and the *Réveil*, and General Cluseret, an American citizen, has been expelled the territory. The Democratic papers still profess to see the finger of the Government in these nightly tumults, and the *Avenir National* declares that half the disorder which takes place on the Boulevards is caused by a band of men who do not resemble working people, and who are never pursued by the police.

Disorderly crowds assembled again on Friday night upon the Boulevards. The troops, who had been reinforced, several times charged and dispersed the mob. About eight p.m., an attempt was made at Belleville to form a barricade with a kiosk and some planks. The Hussars charged five times sword in hand, and swept the Boulevard de Belleville and the Place de la Bastille. The people applauded the *Chasseurs* who dispersed the crowds. On the Boulevard Montmartre a number of persons, origi-



nally drawn to the place by curiosity, gave their assistance to the agitators, in an attempt to overturn an omnibus. The number of persons arrested on Friday exceeds that of the preceding days, amounting to about 600.

On Saturday night the Boulevards presented their usual aspect. All the cafés were open and the street traffic was entirely free throughout the whole length of the Boulevards, from the Boulevard de la Madeleine to the Place de la Bastille. Only a few crowds assembled at ten o'clock at the commencement of the Faubourg Montmartre, but they were without difficulty dispersed by the sergens-de-ville, who were encouraged and assisted by the inhabitants of that quarter. The Boulevards were much frequented, but the crowd behaved peaceably, and greeted the cavalry patrols traversing the streets with cheers for the Emperor and the troops, mingled with shouts of "Down with the rioters!" At midnight the whole line of the Boulevards was quiet and almost deserted. Even at Belleville, the scene of so much rioting during the preceding nights, tranquillity continued undisturbed throughout the evening. Some fifty individuals made an attempt to recommence riotous proceedings in the Faubourg Montmartre, but they were arrested by the citizens. The crowd has greatly decreased, but bodies of cavalry continue to patrol the streets. Order has nowhere been disturbed, though about thirty individuals have been arrested. The *Gaulois* says that at Menilmontant an officer of the Chasseurs killed an insurgent in self-defence, and that a Cuirassier had fallen from his horse and was severely hurt. In the Faubourg Montmartre thirty persons were thrown down in the crush and were injured more or less seriously. These were the only casualties reported.

It still seems to be thought that the riots were got up to a great extent by police agents, and the *Figaro* asserts that the rioters were paid by some unknown persons. Most of the Paris journals blamed the rioters, and urged the people to refrain from disturbing public order.

The *Paris Patrie* says that 564 persons arrested in the French capital were taken to Bicêtre on the 11th inst. and 473 on the following day, making a total of 1,030. Others previously sent made up the number to 1,100. Bicêtre is a fort a little way out of Paris, and these prisoners are confined in nine of its casemates, so that there are about 125 in each casemate. No one is allowed to visit them without express permission from Marshal Canrobert, the commander of the First Army Corps. It is thought that a large number of the incarcerated were mere harmless spectators of the disturbances which took place in Paris, and that they will at once be set at liberty.

The *Official Journal* of Monday publishes an account of the disturbances which have taken place at Paris, Nantes, Bordeaux, and Saint Etienne. It says:—

The authorities had very exact information that a certain party, using several organs of the press as weapons, had determined to raise an *émeute* upon the night of the 6th and 7th inst. The precautionary measures which were taken prevented the agitation from assuming a more serious aspect.

After reciting the particulars of the disturbances, the *Official Journal* says:—

Justice is now in possession of all the facts which provoked and accompanied these deplorable outbreaks. It belongs to justice to trace their authors and originators, and also to discover the tactics whereby these revolutionary agitations were set on foot, which are not only hurtful to the public welfare, and specially to commerce in such large cities, but are also attempts against the law of the country. It belongs to justice to show by evidence collected and by the proofs obtained what complicity might exist between the instigators of the various movements referred to.

The *Official Journal* bears witness to the admirable patience, firmness, moderation, and courage displayed by the authorities and their civil and military organs.

Nowhere (it adds) has the Government been compelled to resort to the use of arms—a proceeding which, the moment it had been necessary, would have been no less decisive than terrible. The Government sees with satisfaction that it has succeeded without bloodshed in quelling the disturbances everywhere they have occurred, and that it has fulfilled its mission of protection and humanity.

The *Petit Journal Officiel*, after publishing an account of the recent disorders in Paris, says: "Two important facts result from this recital—firstly, that the feeling of the population has undergone a reaction against the rioters, and secondly, that, thanks to the firm and forbearing attitude of the authorities, disturbances can be put down without its being necessary to have recourse to arms."

A large number of provincial papers are being prosecuted for having published false news relative to the recent occurrences in Paris, Bordeaux, and Nantes.

The papers relate the following anecdote relative to the riots:—

Amongst the laughable incidents which took place on Thursday night may be mentioned the case of a pick-pocket caught watch in hand. The indignant crowd seized the culprit, and would have handed him over to the police as a robber, but the thief preferred the fate of a revolutionist, and as he was being carried along raised a lusty cry of "Vive la République!" The consequence was that he was torn by the police from his captors, and will probably get a week instead of a year's imprisonment.

The *Sidels* calculates that the new French Chamber will be composed of 199 Official and 93 Opposition members. The *Débats* makes much the same estimate, and at the same time expresses the opinion that the general tone of the House will be far more liberal than it has been hitherto.

Four double elections have yet to be rebalotted; namely, those of Jules Simon, Ernest Picard, Bancel, and Gambetta, after which the Corps Législatif will be definitely formed.

Relative to the probable future policy of the Emperor, the Paris correspondent of the *Times* writes:—

Divers rumours are afloat as to the line of conduct the Emperor may adopt now that he has before him the complete result of the elections, and the constitution of the new Chamber. The two most important members of the Cabinet are said to be, and I believe with truth, less satisfied with the second than they were with the first ballot. Had the principal members of the Liberal party—the men who are most feared by a Minister so powerful as M. Rouher—been definitively excluded from the Chamber, the situation would have been as good or even better than at the close of the last, as the question would be between the revolutionary party—the "irreconcilables"—and the Imperial Government, with a compact majority at its command. Now the case is different. The second ballot has greatly strengthened the Constitutional Opposition; and those who desire reform without revolution are near a hundred in the new Legislative Body. The majority obtained by the Deputies elected under the influence of the Prefects is but little over the minority of the independent candidates. The new Chamber is already convoked for the 28th inst. for the "verification of powers," after which the Government, it is thought, will give some indication as to its future policy. In the meantime it is currently reported that the Emperor thinks of giving his cousin, Prince Napoleon, a commanding place in the Cabinet, making him, in fact, President of the Council and Minister of State, in place of M. Rouher, on whom would devolve the post of Minister without portfolio. Prince Napoleon has on more than one occasion given proofs of his capacity as a speaker and administrator, and they say his advanced political notions have been much modified of late. His nomination would be accepted as a guarantee that reactionary measures are not in contemplation.

The Duke de Persigny has published a letter in the *Constitutionnel*, in which he maintains that the Empire and freedom are not incompatible, and that a just and firm Government can bear every liberty. The letter is addressed to M. Emile Ollivier. The writer does not think that a Government which calls itself Napoleonic is incompatible with liberty; he conceives that the present state of moral disorder has not been produced by the laws on the press, the right of meeting, or the other concessions made by the Emperor; the evil has been produced not by things but by men. It was not the law on the press which improvised the popularity of Gambetta, but that inconceivable weakness which permitted a young lawyer to brave the whole empire under the very eyes of justice. It was not the law on the right of meeting which demoralised a portion of the electoral body, but the attitude of the authorities who allowed the Sovereign, religion, family, and property to be outraged. Without the terrible severity of Brutus and the indomitable courage of Publicola, Roman liberty would have been stifled in its germ, and a people which was on the point of becoming the greatest in the world would have remained unknown to history. According to M. de Persigny, France is the easiest of countries to govern, provided the Government be firm and honest; and the ex-Minister then lets us into the secret of the causes which have led to the recent troubles. The Government has appeared weak, irresolute, and pusillanimous to a portion of the nation. Some men of no real merit have seemed heroes because they have braved a great Government, and the people who honour courage admire them. The Duke does not consider the Empire menaced; he advises Napoleon III. to persevere with liberal measures, but to call to his councils a new set of men, young, strong, intelligent, and, above all, courageous and earnest. *La Presse* says:—"The letter of M. de Persigny is the condemnation of the policy without freedom and without forethought, which we have combated with moderation and persistency. Repudiated by the electoral body in the name of the national rights, it is now disavowed in the name of loyalty to the Napoleons by one of the founders of the Empire, by one of the most tried friends remaining to Napoleon III."

The *Press* says that Baron Hausman has tendered his resignation, and that it has been accepted.

#### SPAIN.

Important debates upon the Regency question have occurred in the Cortes. Two amendments, demanding that the Regency should only be composed of three persons, were rejected. General Prim said no king would come forward in the present state of uncertainty, which, however, would disappear when the Regency question was settled, and then there would be plenty of candidates willing to come forward. He regretted Dom Fernando's refusal, but hinted that it was not irrevocable. His speech was much applauded by the Republicans when warmly defending the Mexicans, whom a deputy had spoken of deprecatingly, calling them cowards. General Prim said a people who knew how to maintain their independence against internal commotions and foreign aggression could not be cowards. Believing they interpreted the sentiments of the country, the Government proposed to reopen relations with the Mexican Republic and its worthy President, Juarez. Perfect tranquillity exists at Madrid.

The Duke de Montpensier and his family have arrived at San Lucar Barrameda, their summer residence in Andalusia. His Royal Highness has sent a communication to the Government, in which, as a citizen of Spain and a captain-general of the army, he declares that he acknowledges and promises to respect the Democratic Constitution as voted by the Constituent Cortes.

A telegram from Madrid states that nearly 1,100

military officers and civil officials took the oath to the new Constitution on Sunday at the Prado. The ceremony of administering the oath to the soldiers was postponed in consequence of heavy rain.

Intelligence has been received, through Spanish sources, of the defeat of the Cuban rebels at Puerto Padre, and the loss of 1,200 men, including General Marmol. Previous accounts, in the New York papers, represented the Spanish army as mutinous, and as suffering from sickness.

#### AMERICA.

President Grant has had a narrow escape. A train in which he and his party were travelling came into collision near Baltimore with another containing cattle, and ran off the rails. One passenger was killed and twenty wounded. President Grant appears to have met with no injury, and his safe arrival at New York, on the 10th inst., is announced in a later despatch.

The Attorney-General for Indiana has decided that the ratification of the suffrage amendment by the Republicans in the Legislature of that State without a quorum was valid, the Democrats having resigned in order to defeat the amendment.

The Irish Republican Association at Philadelphia has issued an address strongly approving of Mr. Sumner's speech on the Alabama claims, and calling upon all true Irishmen to join the Republican party in aiding the enforcement of Mr. Sumner's views. The *New York World* strongly condemns the attempt to make the Alabama claims a party question.

The *New York World* says that the Republican leaders, in their supposed design of taking issue on the Alabama claims at the next elections, are actuated by the feeling that something is necessary to save the party. To convert the Alabama dispute into a party question is the resort of desperation—not the result of patriotism and a desire for the preservation of the national honour. The *New York Times* says it is quite evident that the judgment of the Republican leaders is against taking Mr. Sumner's scheme of reparation as the basis of the party platform at the next elections.

President Grant has ordered General Sheridan to treat all Indians outside of the reservations as hostile to the United States. The inhabitants of Boston are preparing to give President Grant a public reception.

A cable telegram of Saturday says the agent of the Cuban insurgents at Washington has asked the Government to recognise the independence of Cuba, on the ground that General Dulce having resigned, Spain now has no regular authority in Cuba. Secretary Fish has refused the request, holding that Spain controls Cuba until the latter actually achieves independence by driving out the Spanish troops. Changing the Captain-General is not an abdication by Spain of the Government of Cuba. The American Government seems firmly determined not to recognise the Cuban insurgents.

The *New York Times* of Monday says that Mr. Motley has been instructed in the first place to make no overtures for the re-opening, at present, of the negotiations for the settlement of the Alabama difficulty. Should, however, the question again come on foot, he is authorised to inform the British Government that the United States prefer no claim, as a Government, for damages in respect of the recognition of the South's belligerency. The *Times* adds that the Administration has resolved upon a policy of non-action. The *Tribune*, whilst disagreeing with Mr. Sumner's speech in some points, generally endorses the policy laid down in it.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

##### FRESH MASSACRES.

According to an overland telegram from Dunedin, dated April 16th, information had been received from Napier, stating that Ensign Lavin, wife, two children, and Messrs. Wilkinson and Cooper, all of them settlers at Mohaka, were massacred on Sunday last by Te Kooti, with about forty friendly natives, principally women and children. On the 14th, part of the force from Napier reached Mohaka, when Te Kooti was found to have retired with his plunder the day before, having lost about ten of his party killed. He burnt the settlers' homesteads, &c., before retiring. After leaving some cavalry and a part of the force in the district, most of the militia returned to Napier, which is now declared to be threatened. The settlers' families between Mohaka and the suburbs of Napier (a district of about forty miles) have taken refuge in that town.

The Duke of Edinburgh was about leaving in the *Galatea* for Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago.

#### FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The Massachusetts House of Representatives has passed a prohibitory Liquor Law Bill.

The Prussian Government is said to be considering the question of granting increased furloughs to the troops next winter.

Prince Alfred, before leaving New South Wales, made a speech in connection with the proposed statue to Captain Cook, and laid the keystone of the central arch of a new post-office at Sydney.

It is reported that M. de Rochefort was in Paris during the second ballot in the hope of being arrested, which his friends thought would ensure his election.

The Viceroy of Egypt has left Berlin. His Royal Highness is expected in London on the 22nd, and it is announced that he will be provided with apartments in Buckingham Palace.

The anniversary of the Danish Constitution of 1849 has just been celebrated with great enthusiasm at Copenhagen. Upwards of 20,000 persons assembled in the royal park on the shore of the Sound, and



the King and Queen assisted at the fête which was given there in honour of the occasion.

Melbourne advised by telegraph to the 25th April state that the late Minister in Victoria for Railways has been expelled from Parliament, in consequence of the report of a Bribery Committee; that an ex-Mayor of Melbourne has been similarly punished; and that other members are likely to follow.

**THE NORTH AMERICAN CONFEDERATION.**—The Canadian House of Commons on Wednesday passed resolutions admitting Newfoundland into the Confederation. The Nova Scotia House of Assembly, by twenty-seven against seven votes, has rejected the resolution in reference to the annexation of their province to the Dominion of Canada. It is considered probable, however, that the question will be reconsidered.

**THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE BISHOPS.**—The Minister of Public Worship has addressed instructions to the governors of the provinces respecting the course to be taken by the authorities with regard to the execution of episcopal sentences for the confinement of priests to clerical houses of correction. The Minister declares that these episcopal commands are only valid in so far and so long as the condemned priest voluntarily submits to them.

**THE POLYNESIAN IMMIGRATION SCHEME.**—The Sydney correspondent of the *Times* writes:—"I think I have not mentioned to your readers what became of the petition relative to the employment of Polynesian labourers which proceeded to the Legislative Assembly of Queensland from a meeting of the citizens of Sydney, held under the presidency of the Mayor. It was rejected on the ground of being adverse to privilege, which means either that we have not the right to tell truth to the Legislators of Queensland, or that they, by privilege, are precluded from listening to it. Although courteously told in the prayer of the petition, the truth was forcibly told, and his harder than was liked. But the petitioners are allied with a large body of people in Queensland who are at work to amend the Polynesian Labourers Act, under the sanction of which the kidnapping complained of is proceeding, and I hear that the very framers of the measure acknowledge the necessity of making very great changes in the offending clauses."

**NATIONAL MORALS IN AUSTRIA.**—The chief argument used by the Clerical and Conservative party in the Austrian Reichsrath when the abolition of the Concordat and the institution of civil marriages were proposed was that the passing of the Government bill would be the signal for a general relaxation of the national morals. From a return which has been recently issued, and is quoted by the anonymous author of a remarkable pamphlet, "*Oesterreich und seine Zukunft*," the following statistics of the proportion of legitimate to illegitimate births in Vienna alone appear:—

	Legitimate.	Illegitimate.
1862.....	12,127.....	11,113.....
1863.....	13,401.....	12,393.....
1864.....	12,865.....	12,849.....
1865.....	13,199.....	12,424.....
1866.....	12,937.....	13,272.....

Without going so far as Count Auersperg, who attributed this state of things to the combination of theocratic and absolutist government under which Austria groaned, we may safely say that throughout the period of its existence the Concordat at least did not improve the state of morals in Vienna.—*Fall Mall Gazette*.

**THE BALLOT IN AUSTRIA.**—The Sydney correspondent of the *Times* writes:—"Considerable interest is here taken in your discussion on the ballot. We are amazed, looking from our experienced point of view, at your diffidence in taking this step, and the air of mystery that seems, among people who consider this subject in England, to hover about it. Here, nothing is more simple in operation. Before we had the ballot all was excitement and scuffle and storm, and party parade and treating and gross bribery; now an election is the quietest most orderly process in the world, and unattended by any bribery whatever of the old sort. The bribery that does exist is from another quarter and of another form. The candidate who promises to secure for his district the greatest share of the public money, in bridges, quays, roads, and the like, is the elected member. He accepts bills drawn on the Treasury by the constituency. As to what improvement there may be in public morals owing to the substitution of one form of bribery for another, I will not say; I have nothing now to do with the ethical side of the question. The greater part of the world that is moral is more moral by habit than by principle, and the restraints of society remove the habit of wrongdoing and gradually introduce a distaste for it."

#### THE ANTIPATHY TO ENGLAND IN AMERICA.

The New York correspondent of the *Daily News* says:—"There is now an enormous number of Germans here. For some years back they have been coming as fast as the Irish; during the last two or three years they have been coming twice as fast, and number by this time little short of 4,000,000. They are mostly peasants and small tradesmen, some seeking to avoid the conscription, all wishing to better their condition, and all disgusted with the society and Government they leave behind them. The men of education amongst them are all republicans, and of no very mild type either. Kings and nobles have few fiercer enemies. Nevertheless, they all retain more or less love of Fatherland. They are proud of German unification, German triumphs both in war and peace. No difficulties, therefore, between this country and any German State ever arise; nobody

ever thinks of them as possible. No politician ever thinks of 'making capital' by abusing Prussia, or Wurtemberg, or Bavaria, or proposing to fight them, and yet there are hundreds of thousands of Prussian, or Wurtemberg, or Bavarian voters here. On the contrary, politicians make it a business to talk respectfully of Germany, and to make the settlement of difficulties with German States easy. I do not mean to say, of course, that England stands, or can ever stand, in precisely the same relation towards the United States as Prussia or any other German State. The past cannot be changed or effaced; but I do mean to say that, in spite of all that has happened, the presence here of a large English or Scotch element in the population would be the best guarantee of peace that could be devised, and would do more to efface the memories of past differences than a hundred years of official civilities and fraternisation. With a large body of English and Scotch voters, abuse of England would cease to 'pay' in the eyes of the baser class of politicians. English feelings would reach the American public in other and better ways than through the press of the upper and middle classes; and appreciation of England's place in civilisation—of her value to the world, both present and future—would influence, as it does not now, American modes of dealing with her. Moreover, English and Scotch emigrants would get a hold on the American community, such as the Irish and Germans have not, and can never have; because they would be in religious sympathy with them. The Germans are all, or nearly all, Rationalists; the Irish, all Catholics; and both, for this reason, objects of dread or suspicion to that vast body of Americans who fill the ranks of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational denominations—a body perhaps seven or eight millions strong, the very bone and sinew of the country, containing most of its artisans, preachers, teachers, writers, and farmers—the men who do all its thinking, planning, and who in war really do the most of its fighting. By this body Englishmen and Scotchmen would be at once absorbed, because they would join its churches; and there can be no question they would powerfully influence its feeling towards the Old Country, because they would interpret it as it has never been interpreted. The English mind, of course, would be here very much what he is at home, and what the Irish labourer is—a hewer of wood and drawer of water. In talking of an emigration that would influence American feeling and opinion I have in my mind the small farmer and artisan class. I may add that I am convinced such an emigration would be a great gain to the United States also. The Republic is undergoing no greater strain at this moment than that which results from having to educate the Irish and Germans politically. The Common Law and the Constitution are very fine things, when the men who live under them understand them and can work them. But here, where their working successfully depends wholly on the intelligence, skill, and moderation of the common people, it is a serious matter to have great districts taken possession of wholly by Irishmen, to whom the very idea of law, as an abstract rule, distinct from and above individual will, and even the idea of submission to the majority, unless as a direct consequence of its ability to give the minority a good physical "licking," is strange and unfamiliar; or by Germans, to whom Republicanism is principally a protest against aristocracy, who are all more or less imbued with continental theories of centralisation, or of Government interference. A British emigration would, on the contrary, bring men to whom the whole of the American political ideas and political machinery would be perfectly familiar, and to whom discussing, voting, trial by jury, the habeas corpus, and the maintenance of the Anglo-Saxon line between the individual and the Government, would come quite naturally."

**THE BASUTO DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND.**—The *Cape Standard* announces that "the Basutos have taken a leaf out of the book of the Orange Free State, and are sending to the old country a deputation, for the purpose of backing up the reasonable prayer of the Natal memorial to Earl Granville, 'that he would be pleased to advise her Majesty not to ratify the convention' of the 12th of February last, obtained by the Volksraad Commission from Sir Philip Wodehouse at Aliwal North. T'Sekelo, the youngest son of Moshesh, is going to England in the mail steamer *Norseman*, under the escort of Mr. D. D. Buchanan, of the Natal bar, who, as the editor of the *Natal Witness*, has so long been the earnest and fearless advocate of the rights of the aboriginal races of this vast continent, with the practical view of personally submitting to the favourable consideration of her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies the just claims of the Queen of England's new subjects in Southern Africa—the Basutos." The Governor of the Cape Colony has ceded the most fertile portion of the Basuto territory to the Boers of the Orange Free State, who have for several years past waged a remorseless war of extermination against their weaker neighbours; and to prevent, if possible, the ratification of the treaty, the young Basuto chief, accompanied by Mr. Buchanan, who was formerly Attorney-General for Natal, has undertaken his novel mission to England. It is said that T'Sekelo thoroughly understands the English language.

**DOO'S MEAT.**—A fellow stole a dog, and, upon being detected by the owner, promised to return the animal the next day. The individual received a package at the appointed hour, on which was written: "This is your dog"; but on opening it, the astonished man discovered ten pounds of freshly-made sausages.

#### Court, Official, and Personal News.

The Queen and royal family are expected to arrive this morning at Windsor on their return from Balmoral.

Prince Arthur remains in the Hebrides. His Royal Highness will proceed to Canada in the autumn, where he will be attached to the Rifle Brigade. On his return, in the following spring, he will probably join a battalion of the same regiment which will be stationed at Woolwich.

The death of Lord Shaftesbury's sister, the Lady Caroline Neeld, has prevented his lordship from being in his place in the House of Lords.

Mr. Alfred Tennyson and Mr. Frederick Locker have left London for a short tour in Switzerland.

The petition against the return of Lord Hyde for Brecon will be withdrawn.

The award has been made in the case of the concession of Reuter's Telegram Company to the Government. The total amount of compensation claimed was 1,243,000*l.*; but the amount awarded is 726,000*l.*, the company to pay its own costs.

We learn that the life of the Rev. J. W. Massie, LL.D., D.D., the eminent Congregational divine, whose sudden death at Waterford was lately announced in the daily press, was assured in the General Assurance Company, King William-street, London.

The Earl of Radnor's personality (the *Illustrated News* states) has been sworn under 160,000*l.*

A local journal states that Mr. Whalley is rapidly recovering from the effects of his late accident. He is, however, rather lame, and suffering from an injured knee.

**SIR S. BAKER'S EXPEDITION.**—Sir S. Baker Pasha's force for the conquest of the Sudan will consist, we believe, of two regiments of infantry, each 800 strong, one regiment of irregulars 600 strong, two regiments of cavalry each 450 strong, two light batteries and one heavy battery—in all a force of some 3,300 men. The country is difficult, the climate very damp and feverish. There is no opposition to be apprehended in the field, but it will be interesting to see how Baker Pasha, who is not a soldier, handles his little army. He has power of life and death in his command. We hope he has power to watch over his own life and his health.—*Army and Navy Gazette*.

**THE LADIES' SANITARY QUESTIONS.**—On Tuesday the eleventh annual meeting of the supporters of the Ladies' Sanitary Association was held at 44, Berkeley-square, the residence of Lady Burrell, one of the hon. secretaries of the association, under the presidency of Lord Shaftesbury. Mrs. Butler read the annual report, which stated that her Royal Highness the Crown Princess of Prussia had joined the association, and had allowed her name to be enrolled among those of the lady patronesses of the institution. Five thousand copies of the *Home Almanac* had been printed during the present year, and 500 essays on smallpox and vaccination, 1,000 copies of the society's tenth annual report, and several thousands of tracts had been reprinted. 13,243 children had been sent to play in the parks last season, at a cost, as appeared from the balance-sheet, of 21*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.* The committee of the Destitute Children's Dinner Society, which is in co-operation with the association, opened thirty-seven dining-rooms up to September, 1868, in the poorest districts of London. The grants made had amounted to 884*l.*, and 83,119 children had obtained substantial dinners by this means. Each child paid 1*d.* for the meal, and the revenue from this source to the funds of the society had amounted during the year to 400*l.* The London Dressmakers' Company was succeeding admirably. Branch associations continued their practical work at Aberdeen, Brighton, Bristol, Cardiff, Paisley, Leeds, Reading, and Romsey, and at Birmingham a branch association had been inaugurated during the year. The balance-sheet of the period elapsing between the 1st of January, 1868, and the 31st of December, 1868, stated that the receipts for that year had amounted to 511*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*, and the expenditure to 494*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*, leaving a balance of 107*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* The object of the association, it may be interesting to state, is to extend and popularise knowledge of the laws of health by means of libraries, lectures, tracts, clothing and coal clubs, and other similar agencies. A project for establishing nurseries for motherless young children, which may serve as schools for mothers of all classes, school-mistresses and nurses, is included in the programme of practical work. The Rev. J. B. Owen proposed the adoption of the report, and in the course of his observations dwelt emphatically on the means promoted by the society for the prevention of disease. The motion was seconded by Dr. Richardson, and unanimously adopted. Dr. Farr proposed a resolution to the effect, as much of disease and premature mortality resulted from an ignorance of sanitary laws, the association commended itself to the support of the public. In doing so, he adduced statistics to show the rate of mortality among children in the various countries of Europe, and said it was highest in Italy, where the rate was eleven per cent. He thought that while we were endeavouring to extend Protestantism in Italy it would not be useless to consider the means by which the rate of mortality might be diminished in that country. Dr. Druitt seconded the motion, which was carried. Some other business, for the most part formal, having been transacted, the proceedings terminated.

A shopkeeper on a Boulevard was prevented by the police from hanging out the following notice the other day:—"Windows to let, at two francs the hour, to see the riots this evening." Which is the true nation of shopkeepers?



## Literature.

## "THE MINISTER'S WIFE."

The best indication which we can give of the character of this new novel by Mrs. Oliphant is for us to say that it is by the author of the "Life of Edward Irving," and of "Agnes." The scene is laid in a Scotch village on the borders of Loch Diarmid, and, with one exception, all the characters are drawn from the simple materials furnished by the inhabitants of the village. We are introduced, in the opening chapter, to two young twin sisters, Margaret and Isabel Diarmid, who are living at the Glebe House with their step-mother. Margaret, a girl of lofty spiritual instincts and saintly character, is slowly dying of consumption; Isabel, a girl of uncultured heart and wayward and impetuous temper, is being drawn into the love of a worthless young Englishman who is staying at the village for the purpose of acquiring a practical knowledge of farming. Then there is the Presbyterian minister of the old Erastian type, a man fifty years of age, who has also fallen in love with Isabel. Equally prominent are "Mr. John," a laird of formerly vicious life, who has suddenly been smitten with remorse, and become, under the influence of a young girl of the name of Ailie Macfarlane, a prophet in the unknown tongues and of unknown things. Surrounding these there are the plain, warm-hearted mother-in-law, the parish schoolmaster, the members of the kirk session, and the villagers. These materials, in the hand of a writer like Mrs. Oliphant, would form an idyll or a tragedy. Mrs. Oliphant has combined both idyll and tragedy into one work.

It must be obvious to any reader, without Mrs. Oliphant's short preface, that the scene is laid in the west of Scotland, and that many of the materials are drawn from the religious movement which began there some thirty years ago, when girls took to strange prophesying, when miracles were supposed to be wrought, and unknown tongues were spoken. Mrs. Oliphant has been the ablest historian of this remarkable movement, and she now works up afresh the very intimate knowledge which she possesses of it. As in many other instances, the fictitious narrative is superior to the historical. In the latter the imagination is bound down by hard facts, and has no room—or no legitimate room—to picture persons, scenes, and events as they appeared to those who were the living witnesses of them. History, for the most part, is confined to the external side of life; in fiction the power that works within, and makes what is, historical, can be revealed, and all the multitudinous hidden forces brought to light. The nature of the remarkable movement which originated in Scotland in Irving's time, has never been described with such graphic force as it is in this work. Mrs. Oliphant has too delicate a taste to make real persons live again in her pages, but she invests fictitious characters with marvellous and life-like individuality. In the great drama—great, at least, for its human passion—which she has now written, there is a vividness of portraiture which she has not equalled in any other work. Isabel is a repetition, with a difference, of "Agnes," and in the mother-in-law we see the female but Scotch complement of Agnes' blacksmith father. But "Mr. John" and Ailie, although they are more or less borrowed from history, are new creations. We take them to be not the most finished, but by far the most powerfully drawn, of all the characters that the author has brought into any of her works.

It is never fair to describe with anything like fulness the contents of a novel, but the title of this work tells half its tale, and the tone of the opening chapter is sufficient to indicate the fate of one of its heroines. Let us take it up where Margaret is visited by the strange prophet and prophetess, who have come to tell her that if she only had faith she could be at once cured, as Ailie herself had been.

"Mr. John," said Margaret, raising herself erect, 'this is no place for you. Why should you be told or called to me? If Ailie has anything to say, I am content to hear her; but you and me are best apart.'

"Why should we be best apart?" cried Mr. John, 'when you know what my heart is? No; I will not go. Be silent all of you; how dare you interfere between her and me? I have come with one of God's hand-maidens to save her life.'

"Let him be," said Ailie; 'we've come here together that we may hold the Lord to His promise. Margaret Diarmid, I've come to bid you rise up, and be strong as I am. O woman! can you lie there and see the world lying in wickedness and not find it in your heart to throw off the bonds of Satan? Why should ye lie and suffer there? It's no doctors you want; it's faith you

want. We a' ken you're a child of God. Magret, hearken to me. I was like you; I was in my bed, worse than you, and pondered and pondered and kept silence till my heart burned. I said to myself, why was it? and the Lord taught me it was Satan and not His will. Do you think I lay there one day mair? I listened to the voice that was in my ears. I thought no more of flesh and blood; I rose up, and here I am. Magret Diarmid, I command you to rise up in the name of the Lord!'

"They all gathered close, with an uncontrollable thrill of excitement, to listen to this appeal, and to see the result of it. Isabel fell on her knees beside her sister, and gazed at her to see the change, if any came. Ailie, with her hand raised over Margaret's head, and her face lifted to heaven, waited for an answer. John Diarmid, by her side, with a look of wilder passion still, hung over the group in speechless excitement. Even Jean Campbell behind stood wringing her hands, feeling her heart beat and her temples throb. Was it the Spirit of God that was about to come, shaking the homely room as by a whirlwind? There was a pause of awful stillness, during which nobody spoke. When Margaret answered, the bystanders started and looked at each other. The calm tone of her voice fell upon their excited nerves like something from a different world.

"I hear your voice, Ailie," said Margaret, with the softness of a whisper, though her words fell quite distinct and clear upon their ears, 'but I have no voice within. Can you not believe that God may deal one way with you and another with me?'

"God has no step-bairns," cried Ailie. 'Does He love me better than you? O neebors! on your knees, on your knees! Will He no remember His own word that's passed to us and canna be recalled, what two or three agree to ask is granted afore we speak. It's no His consent, but her's we have to seek.'

"And Ailie prayed: 'O Thou that dwellest in the heavens!' she cried, turning her visionary face to the pale twilight sky that looked wistfully in through the window, 'Father, thou lovest us well! Look down and see what man cannot do, what Thou canst do at a word, at the lifting of Thy finger. If she has not the faith to rise up, give her the faith. O Lord, Lord, Thou hast promised—Thou hast promised! Is God a man that He should repent? Look on us here before Thee, two or three all agreed! O Lord God!' cried Ailie, pausing and bursting forth into sobs that broke her voice, 'Do you no mind what you said? If it had been man that said it, we would never have listened to man. O Lord, Thy promise! We are waiting—waiting—waiting! Bid her rise like Lazarus! Loose her bonds like the woman in Galilee! Oh! raise her up, Lord God, as Thou hast raised up me!'

"It would be impossible to describe the impassioned cry that rose up in the silence. There was no one in the room except Margaret, who escaped the contagion of that strange emotion. She had fallen back into her chair in weakness, and gazed at them with calm and pitiful looks, like those of an angel.

"Ailie, God hears," said the sick girl; 'and He will give me life, but not here, not now. You've not to think your prayers refused. I'm near to the grave, and I can hear the message sent. It says, "Ay, she shall be saved; ay, she shall rise up, not in earth, but in heaven."'

And so it was. The young saint died, and with exquisite, though gentle humour, the author describes how disappointed all the people were that she died quietly and silently without delivering a grand death-bed testimony!

Then the prophets continue their prophesying and the lovers their love. But Stapylton, the young Englishman, after making coarse proposals to Isabel, leaves her, and in her loneliness and sorrow the girl takes the ardent, loving, fine-minded old Presbyterian, and becomes the "Minister's Wife." To tell what follows would be to tell the whole tale, and therefore we will not tell it.

We have one or two remarks, however, to make. The book, as a whole, conveys a painful impression of both the vice and the weakness of human nature, and leaves the reader with a dumb feeling of protest against the moral government of the world. The good and weak die or suffer, and the bad and strong get on, so far as this life is concerned, pretty well. This was substantially the moral of "Agnes," and that Mrs. Oliphant should have repeated this moral is an indication that she has a purpose in doing so. She has, as the reader of any work of hers might be aware, no very conventional feelings or sentiments. She is terribly truthful in painting life, not always as it is, but as she sees it. It is, however, strange to find a woman drawing such a portrait of a man as the author has drawn of John Diarmid. This man had been as profligate as a man could be, and was suddenly reclaimed to a Christian life in the way of prophesying. Such transformations have not been uncommon, although they have not often reached to such an extent. The bad man of vigorous passion will be the good man of vigorous passion. But what are we to say of Mrs. Oliphant's theory, that there was as little vice in the first as virtue in the second life? She says of John Diarmid: "He did not answer, as he might have done, that through all his wickedness and his righteousness, the time when he was a reprobate, and the time when he was a prophet, he had been pursuing neither vice nor virtue, but excitement, emotion, the keen sensations which were life to him. He was not sufficiently enlightened to see so much as that. He considered the question not as a matter of temperament, but as a matter of guilt." If the

characters in this book and other books of Mrs. Oliphant are analysed, it will, we think, be settled that this is the author's theory of actual human life, not with respect to John Diarmid alone, but with respect to everybody. That is to say, she is of opinion that it is impossible for people to overcome the tendencies of their nature by any moral force either given or acquired. People are born with certain "temperaments," and these temperaments regulate and control the life. This is one of the half-truths that may be more dangerous in influence than the most insidious of errors. People do not act as they were apparently born to act, but sometimes utterly against both the predominating bad and also against the predominating good tendencies that they may possess. And it is possible for temperament, in either case, to be conquered. If temperament be all, is there such a thing as sin, or can there be such a thing as holiness?

Mrs. Oliphant has, in other respects, improved upon her former works in this. We have already said that it contains more powerfully drawn characters than any other book from her pen, but, at the same time, there is a softer tone in it than we have met with before. The author is one of the few women who understand and can describe a woman, and Mrs. Oliphant can describe her own sex as no man even could do. The elaborately worked analyses of Isabel's feelings in this book could have been written only by a woman of rich imagination, large heart, high artistic culture, and—married. These analyses are sometimes marvellous for the variety, minuteness, and delicacy of their lights and shades. There is no writer who can dissect as Mrs. Oliphant does, the inner life of woman, in her highest stages of emotion. Is it partly because of this, that this is, on the whole, a painful book? You cannot, so closely is it all woven, miss any part of it. You cannot skip, for both substance and style keep you tied down to it. It is a rare and original book, and yet the feeling that most people will have when they have finished the last volume, will, we think be, that excepting as a work of art, they would rather not have read it.

## SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

Whatever real value impartial judges among posterity may attach to Mr. John Stuart Mill's attack on the philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, no one who has the least acquaintance with speculative thought can deny that Sir William's contributions were substantial, and had a powerful effect in stimulating British thought. Hamilton redeemed Scottish metaphysics from the arid fruitlessness that was likely to overtake the purely experimental inductive psychology which, although useful as an initiative process for supplying on one side the materials for a true theory of mental phenomena, threatened to degenerate into a mere gin-horse round of analyses of sensations, perceptions, and thoughts, with nothing whatever beyond. Hamilton did not deductively establish a bold Ontology, but he drew such a sharp line between the sphere of Knowledge and the sphere of Being that, following his chart, the honest thinker can skirt this misty province without much danger or dismay; and he gave the hint for a new analysis of logical forms, in which the necessary conditions under which we think are analysed, and set forth with rare distinctness. In this logic, which had hitherto been confused and mixed up with the science of induction, and several other applications of its rules to practical research, the laws of thinking, or the necessary relations of thought to thought, are laid down with peculiar clearness, as an essential preliminary to determining the capabilities and limits of the mind itself in dealing with the purely metaphysical objects of knowledge. Hamilton's great merit is that of clearly distinguishing the three great provinces of mental philosophy: Logic, or the science of the abstract forms of thinking; Psychology, or the experimental analysis of mental processes; and Metaphysics, or, more properly, Ontology, the science of pure Being as it can be apprehended in thought. Now, as Sir William Hamilton's force from the very first had been directed towards a scrutiny of the real logical content—or the law which underlies all reasoning, and which Whately had confounded with reasoning itself—and had found this to move between two terms or contradictions, we see at once the consistency of his whole scheme of thought as regards the applications of his famous doctrine of the Relativity of Human

\* *The Minister's Wife*, By Mrs. OLIPHANT, author of "Chronicles of Carlingford," "Salem Chapel," &c. Three Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

\* *Memoir of Sir William Hamilton, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh.* By JOHN VEITCH, M.A., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. (Blackwood and Sons.)



Knowledge. That which is conceived in thought is conceived under limits; in the very act of thinking anything we condition it, or put it between possible contradictories; in attempting to think the Absolute, the Infinite, God or Eternity, the substance vanishes and thought collapses at the one extreme term or the other. Practically, therefore, Hamilton, while treating of the mind itself in the clearest and most interesting manner, denies the possibility of an Ontology such as the later German philosophers, and our own Ferrier and Maurice, attempt to establish by *a priori* deduction. Such clear boundary lines are certainly of great scientific value; the more in this case that Hamilton always kept open the sphere of faith.

But while Hamilton's philosophy is of no little interest as touching closely topics of the most broadly human concern—God, heaven, immortality, and freedom—his life is more interesting still. And he has been singularly happy in his biography. Luckily, the impression made upon most of those with whom he came into contact was of such a kind that there is no lack of correspondence, reminiscences, and other biographic materials from which to construct a life. Though remarkably individual, he was simple, unassuming, with a genuine cheerfulness and sweet humour which made him a choice companion. He was communicative and unaffected, and even when well up in years was often as gay and lively as a child, notwithstanding disappointments and obstacles under which a grave and studious man of less buoyant temper would certainly have sunk. From his earliest days to his death he had to struggle with limited means; for the baronetcy to which, with his usual thoroughness, he established his claim by his own unaided search in the Edinburgh Register House, was but an empty honour. But through all his life he bore himself with a kind of manly dignity and reserve—even after he had been twice stricken with paralysis, forcing himself to read his lecture in his class-room day after day. Through the greater part of his life he had been a consistent Whig, yet the Whig party were shy of bestowing any favour, even to the extent of 100*l.* pension, on the philosopher, who had therefore to the end to depend upon the scanty income of a professor's chair, for which it seemed he was determined to do the work. In his last days a little irritability, hardly to be wondered at, showed itself; but he was still gentle and kindly, and could yield himself up to innocent, child-like enjoyment. This is a choice picture of the thinker's domestic life:—

"The kind of books which my father enjoyed for relaxation brings out a feature of his mind in which his simplicity and freshness of nature strikingly showed itself. This was his love for works of the imaginative type in fiction—the more strongly tinged with the fantastic, or weird, or horrible, the better he liked them. Mrs. Radcliffe's stories, for instance, he used laughingly to confess, he had enjoyed. 'Frankenstein' he had liked. 'The Ancient Mariner' was a favourite with him. On the other hand, he had not patience for the ordinary society or domestic novel, unless there was in it much of intellect, or pathos, or wit. 'Causes Célèbres,' I believe, were favourite reading with him. None of us children were fonder of fairy tales than he was. He would now and then order them for us, and then he took a reading of them himself. I remember a parcel arriving, among which was a translation of Tieck's 'Phantasus' (which was read to him), and also of the 'Shadowless Man,' of which he had a lively recollection, and which he now listened to again with pleasure. Then I remember a volume of German legends and fairy tales which he had in the country the last summer of his life. We thought it a very indifferent collection, yet my father had a number of the stories read aloud—chiefly I think because, not being well then, he was glad to be soothed to sleep by the sound of something which made no demand on his attention; still the choice was characteristic. He was easily moved by anything pathetic, and latterly could not help showing it outwardly. And how he did enjoy humour! He would be quite overcome with laughter; nor was it difficult to make him laugh. He readily saw the comic side of things, while not himself possessing much power of making humour, though here and there in his writings I think there are real gleams of it brightening the general gravity of the style."

"And I am sure no one ever made his children feel that they could go to him freely, or let them be on a simpler, more familiar footing with him. He might be to others a great and learned man—to us he was but our dear affectionate father, whose position and fame in the world we only understood so far as to make us proud of him, and value the more his kindness to us. There was in him a tenderness which enhanced his even slight words and acts of affection; they went from the heart to the heart, and drew those around wonderfully to him. People who stayed in the house were always fond of my father, and felt him to be very kind. Even those who had begun by being shy and afraid of him soon became quite at their ease. For almost all young people he had an attraction—he himself was fond of children. His consideration for animals was remarkable; and nothing made him more angry than ill-treatment of them; in driving, for instance, he was always very careful of horses. He had always been fond of dogs."

"When in the country, he generally accompanied his family in expeditions and picnics, which he enjoyed as much as the youngest. A characteristic feature of him came out very markedly in those summer sojourns,—the readiness and zest with which he entered into his children's pursuits and amusements—rejoicing, and, as

far as he was able, taking part, in every youthful pastime. A round game with his family delighted him at any time. But the country afforded scope for another form of pastime. His mechanical turn had, from his own early boyhood, found an outlet in the construction of kites, for which among juveniles he was famous. Two of his productions in this line had a traditional fame, and were always reported as marvels of art! The one was an immense fellow, and the other a very small one, but of elaborate construction. One of intermediate size was regularly carried to the country."

Sir William Hamilton's life was not a life of incident. He was a thinker, and he was essentially a domestic man. His tenderness towards his own family seems to have been exceptional; his grief at his mother's death overwhelmed him, and completely unfitted him for work. Devoted to books as few men are, he yet preserved a warm interest in public matters, on which he often felt strongly, although he never actively threw himself into the vortex of public life. But he was a man of vivid sympathies, of keen sense in matters of business and public concern. So healthy and energetic was he that few men would at first glance have put him down for an abstract thinker. And what gave him influence as a teacher was more the frank, manly, enthusiastic turn he brought with him to the abstrusest subjects, than even his force and felicity of statement, in which he was perhaps unequalled among northern professors. Ferrier would appear to have had enthusiasm and a fluent subtlety, together with a sort of finished and graceful directness of statement; but these were marred by a conscious consequential self-assertiveness and a tendency to indulge in sparkling witty conceits, which would have been more in place in a Rhetoric chair than in a Metaphysical one. Sir William was, from all accounts, a prince of teachers, throwing himself unreservedly upon the goodwill of his students, without *hauteur*, stiffness, or reserve of any kind, lightening up his discourse by the most familiar references to passing events, and even indulging in a joke without loss of dignity. Ever ready to answer a question or solve a difficulty, he made friends of his students, who seemed to entertain for him such grateful and reverent affection as is more commonly felt towards a gifted leader in action than an academic instructor in abstract subjects. The two lectures on the Subjective and Objective Use of Philosophy are excellent specimens of his style. If his mind was not very original, it was at once far-reaching and exact; having touched very distant and barren points, it took a colour from them, as mountain streams look brownest in their loneliest recesses.

We have said that Sir William Hamilton has found a good biographer in Professor Veitch. His chief merit is that he does not pen a fine eulogy without shading or individual feature, but lets well-adjusted lights from various points fall upon the subject; and as it is all along skilfully kept in focus, the result is a most faithful and attractive picture. We have reminiscences from many of those who were best fitted to appreciate Hamilton and his work—from De Quincey, Professor Baynes, Dr. Cairns, and not least from Thomas Carlyle, whose notes are very characteristic. Here is Mr. Carlyle's portrait:—

"I cannot recollect even when I first came to speech with him, which must have been by accident and his own voluntary favour, on some slight occasion, probably at the Advocates' Library, which was my principal or almost sole literary resource (lasting thanks to it, alone of Scottish institutions!) in those obstructed, neglectful, and grimly-forbidding years. Perhaps it was in 1824 or 1825. I recollect right well the bright affable manners of Sir William, radiant with frank kindness, honest humanity, and intelligence ready to help; and how completely prepossessing they were. A fine firm figure of middle height; one of the finest cheerfully-serious human faces, of square, solid, and yet rather *aquiline* type; a little marked with smallpox—marked, not deformed, but rather the reverse (like a rock rough-hewn, not spoiled by polishing); and a pair of the beautifullest kindly-beaming hazel eyes, well open, and every now and then with a lambency of smiling fire in them, which I always remember as if with trust and gratitude. Our conversation did not amount to much, in those times; mainly about German books, philosophies and persons, it is like; and my usual place of abode was in the country then. Letter to him, or from, I do not recollect there was ever any; though there might well enough have been, had either of us been prone that way."

We have here a very striking instance of the manner in which Mr. Carlyle isolates and seizes a single feature, in order to hang, as on a peg, the whole individuality of the man. Marat is the "squalid and physically little"; Robespierre is the "sea-green"; Sir William Hamilton is slightly pockpitted—"marked, not deformed, but rather the reverse (like a rock rough-hewn 'not spoiled by polishing')." Professor Veitch says in a note that this impression is not correct, as Sir William's face had no marks of small-pox. How trace the origin of this error? Doubtless it would not be easy. Yet may it not be possible that as Sir William was staying in Edinburgh with his mother in 1824, when he got acquainted with Carlyle, who then often

saw him, that Carlyle may have in memory transferred a characteristic trait from the mother to the son? Professor Veitch writes near the beginning of the volume:—"In figure 'Mrs. Hamilton was stately, with fine eyes, though her face was somewhat spoiled by traces of the small-pox. As is not unfrequently the case with distinguished sons, William resembled his mother in appearance, and probably also in certain mental peculiarities. She was a woman of considerable strength of character, well read, and of cultivated mind, but with more natural ability than careful early education." Clearly Mr. Carlyle has been misled here as in so many other cases: his characteristic touch certainly looks more like the mother than the son.

There is also a very characteristic letter from Carlyle addressed to Sir William on the occasion of the settlement of the former in London; and we cannot forbear giving one or two of its paragraphs:—

"I have got my little book-press set up, my table fixed firm in its place, and set here awaiting what time and I, in our questionable wrestle, shall make out between us. The house pleases us much; it is in the remnant of genuine old Dutch-looking Chelsea; looks out mainly into trees. We might see at half a mile's distance Bolingbroke's Battersea; could shoot a gun into Smollett's old house (at this very time getting pulled down), where he wrote 'Count Fathom,' and was wont every Saturday to dine a company of hungry authors, and then set them fighting together. Don Saltero's coffee-house still looks as brisk as in Steele's time; Nell Gwynn's boudoir, still bearing her name, has become a gin-temple, not inappropriately; in fine, Erasmus lodged with More (they say) in a spot not five hundred yards from this. We are encompassed with a cloud of witnesses, good, bad, indifferent."

"Of London itself I must not begin to speak. I wish you would come and look at it with me. There is a spare bed here, ample room and verge enough; and, for welcome, I wish you would understand that to be for you infallible at all times."

"Literature seems dying of thin diet and flatulence but it is not quite so near dead as I had calculated. In all human things there is the strangest vitality. Who knows how long even book-selling may last? Ever, too, among these mad Maelstroms swims some little casket that will not sink. God mend it!"

"Mrs. \* \* \* often speaks of you, but seems to have no recent news. She has got much deeper into the vortex than when I saw her last; dines with Chancellors; seems to sit berattled all day with the sound of door-knockers and carriage-wheels, and the melody of drawing-room commonplace, perennials as that of the spheres; for the rest, a most lovable, loving woman, to whom I could wish a better element."

"Meanwhile, I am actually going to write a book, and perhaps publish a booklet already written: the former is my enterprise till perhaps spring next. Wish me well through it."

We should mention that Professor Veitch, in an appendix, offers some succinct remarks on Mr. Mill's treatment of Hamilton's doctrine of Relativity and other points.

#### "TIMELY WORDS."\*

Here is a volume of sermons to which we wish to give a good place, though not the first: which we desire to put high up in the scale, though not quite at its summit. But how are we to reach that end? We can heartily commend these sermons, but we cannot apply to them the highflown epithets which are frequently lavished on far inferior productions. They do not put us in mind of Robertson's sermons, or Lynch's, or MacDonald's, or MacLaren's, or A. J. Scott's, or A. J. Morris's—although, by some peculiar law of association, far less valuable discourses have recalled these great names to other reviewers. We cannot even say that they are original sermons, if by that phrase we are supposed to announce the advent of a new light of genius, although undoubtedly they have a pleasant flavour of their own. Nor are they philosophical sermons, if only those discourses are philosophical which, like Butler's and Scott's, treat of the gravest moral problems of the age; although they abound in thoughtful and suggestive reflections such as this:—"Mere instruction will give men a certain likeness; but real education increases individuality." They are not literary sermons—that is, they are not characterised by constant allusions to the great works of English and classical literature. At times, even, and especially in the transitions from thought to thought, the style is wanting in flexibility and ease; the hinges creak as they turn: yet they betray much reading of the best kind, and shew a good skill in the use of good words. They are not expository sermons—that is, they do not make the exposition of obscure or difficult texts their main business; yet they throw welcome light on many Biblical passages, *e. g.* the parallel instituted between Caiaphas and Cephas (p. 142), and the whole discourse (xiv.) on Joseph of Arimathea. They are not evangelical sermons, in the debased sense; they do not iterate or reiterate certain

\* *Timely Words*: being Fifteen Sermons, by J. JACKSON GOADBY. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.



familiar phrases which have sunk into a mere cant: but they are evangelical in the best sense for they are pervaded by the distinctively Christian spirit, and set forth impressively the truths which centre in the Cross. They have neither Mr. Morris's wealth of happy colloquial phrases, nor Mr. Lynch's or Mr. MacDonald's poetic imagination, nevertheless they are constantly lit up with homely and picturesque phrases, as, for example, the description of the Galilean speech of the Apostles—"They spoke their own language with a country accent that a town-bred servant detected"; or this comparative estimate of preachers—"He is the noblest teacher from whom the truth comes, not as incense swung out of a censer, but as fragrance exhaled by a living flower."

Of course these comparisons and brief citations give only an imperfect conception of the volume before us. But we must trust to the "judicious" reader to make the best of them he can. We have not space for the extracts which would do justice to these discourses. Nor is it easy to characterise in a few phrases any book on which thought and care have been expended. If we had to characterise this one, we should say that its most distinctive feature is, its solid good sense. Mr. Goadby has the faculty of applying the truths of the Bible to the practical details of life, to modern needs and circumstances, in a fresh, sensible, manly way, which makes his sermons very pleasant to read, and, we should suppose, still more pleasant to hear. That congregation is to be congratulated which has the privilege of listening to such discourses as these—discourses marked by an ability, a culture, a sincerity, a masculine directness which raise them far above the ordinary level of pulpit compositions. We cordially commend them to our readers, and hope that more of them may soon be in our hands.

## BRIEF NOTICES.

*Constance Aylmer: a Story of the Seventeenth Century.* By H. F. P. (Hodder and Stoughton.) So sweet and withal so true a story as this we have not read for many a month. The initials, by the use of which the author chooses to avoid identification, afford no clue to those who would fain remove the visor, but the writing itself, if it does not reveal the hand of an accomplished and already well-known writer of historical fiction, shows that one, if less known, not less able or less fascinating than Miss Yonge, or Whyte Melville, or Sarah Tytler, has made a most successful effort to represent domestic scenes of bygone days by the aid of fictitious narrative founded upon historical fact. Our surmise is that we have here an American book by an American author. The scene of the story is laid in a part of the Dutch possessions in North America during the middle of the seventeenth century. Here we meet with Constance Aylmer, who, the orphan daughter of English Puritans, has just arrived at Long Island to be under the loving care of her Quaker aunt Deborah; here too among others are a host of Dutch settlers and their dames and households who impart to the book a homeliness and cheeriness which are better conceived than described. But better than all here is Aunt Deborah herself, Lady Moody, of Moody Hall, the Quaker lady of high birth who more than burgomasters or directors-general ruled with her counsels of peace the colony in which she dwelt. We may describe her briefly in the words of her son and Constance's guardian, "the personification of purity, of uprightness before God and man, of generosity in soul and purse, of strong feelings under complete control, and of tenderest affection." Here is the secret of it—

"Aunt Deborah, you have not once this morning knit your brows. How do you carry your cares with so peaceful a face?" asked Constance, tired herself at the end of the day of troubles.

"I am not disturbed within. Why should I frown, therefore? I am weary, but not troubled, since I know whence to get the wisdom needed in this matter. God is able to melt Petrus Stuyvesant's heart towards us."

"And if He should harden it," questioned Constance, in doubt.

"We should be afflicted, yet continue to possess the peace that passeth all understanding. It is war with God that gives unrest to the soul."

"But, Aunt Deborah, I have seen people at peace with God, yet who fret grievously at their cares."

"If the cares are selfish, as through a desire to gain riches, these can see the treaty with God is broken, and the unrest comes. But if the cares come through a desire to work with and for the good Lord, there is peace within, and the soul does not fret and chafe under the burden."

"Ah, Aunt Deborah, if I can but grow like you, rather than like Dame Zwaller, how pleasant it will be when I am old."

"Thee will be in danger of copying many faults," she replied, smiling. "Thee had better take a perfect model. I know of one only, the serene Saviour."

There are bad people, however, in the book, as there are in every society. The author has not exhausted his art in depicting those traits of character which evoke our sympathy and emulation. There is a Lord Percy, an adventurous highwayman of the seas, whose real character is not known, and who is a guest at Moody Hall on the recommendation of the Governor. He is

captivated by the beauty of Constance, and exercises all his wiles to make her consent to become his wife. Instinctively loathing his presence, she is bound nevertheless to maintain towards him a courteous demeanour as the guest of her Aunt Deborah. The following dialogue well illustrates the spirit with which the story is enlivened throughout:—

"You look serious," said Lord Percy, "when I approach you. Why do you shrink like a sensitive plant when I turn my eyes upon you? Have you forgotten what I told you during the voyage? Ma belle, I promised you I should persevere."

"There is no need, my lord."

"I have been impatient for this meeting," he returned, without regarding her words, "and will you mar its happiness by withholding smiles so easy to bestow?" Constance's eyes were fastened upon a cluster of flowers embroidered upon her dress. She was silent.

"You veil your eyes as well as your heart," he continued, in a low, tenderly modulated tone, so that none but she could hear. "I am yearning to read them both. I fear that you willfully hide them." She looked up with a pleased, twinkling glance.

"Your lordship is so good an interpreter that it is needless to make a task of so easy reading." Her heart thumped at her own boldness, but she did not know how to soften the truth.

"You are jesting," said he, "but your very jests are arrows that transfix me. Grant me a leaf of the vine twined in your hair that the wound may be healed. They say some wild leaves have power to heal."

"You can have all you wish from the portfolio," she replied, coldly.

"But you will not refuse the one just ready to fall—ready to fall. It twirls upon the stem."

"Not one; even though all were ready to fall," she repeated, with an emphasis he had not expected.

A better fate than this is in store for Constance, though before she earned it she had to endure the crucifixion of her first love by the twin monsters of jealousy and selfishness. There are countless passages we are almost tempted to quote, but our space forbids. Our readers should not fail to obtain the book and read it for themselves.

*One Thing, by the Author of "Copsley Annals"* (Seeley and Co.), is a reprint of four chapters from a book recently published by the author of "Copsley Annals," entitled, "The End of Life and the Life that has no Ending." It thus forms a small and very portable little volume of a hundred pages in limp cloth, the contents of which relate to the "One Thing" as needful, lacking, desired, and determined, respectively. The writer of these chapters is evidently familiar with such illustrations of practical Christianity as are furnished by the many sick and needy and afflicted of whom the world knows so little, and she wields the power over honest hearts which one writing with intense earnestness of purpose, and in a winning, pleading spirit, is sure to exercise. The book is better adapted to the young and unsophisticated than to those who have had much friction with a hard, unsympathising world.

*Harmony of the Bible with Experimental and Physical Science.* By the Rev. ARTHUR RIGG, M.A. (Bell and Daldy.) Mr. Rigg endeavours in the course of four short lectures on Heat, Mechanics, Light, and Electricity to indicate the harmony that exists between the known facts of science, and those parts of Scripture in which allusion is made to objects and phenomena which come within the range of scientific observation and experiment. None but a captious critic would attempt to fasten a charge of ignorance or imposture upon the writer of the Book of Genesis because geological and astronomical research demonstrate the absurdity of interpreting literally the six-days theory of creation, but the believer in revelation cannot afford to regard with indifference, or to leave unchallenged, the assertion that the discoveries of science and the Old Testament records are irreconcilable. Our only complaint of Mr. Rigg is that he tries to prove too much; he forces analogies in nature and revelation which appear to us fanciful and without moral significance, just as some writers weary and confuse the mind by seeking to assign to every Levitical rite its own especial spiritual meaning. This tendency once carries Mr. Rigg fairly off his head, as where, after instituting a parallelism between the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit with the Heat, Light, and Actinism of the Solar Beam, he seeks to strengthen his illustrations of the assertion that moral states are associated in Scripture with colours by a single illustration not taken from Scripture. To do full justice to Mr. Rigg, we will give the context:—

"When we look upward and heavenward, the tint is Blue. The Sky is Blue. It will seem that the first act of Solar Emanation is—to proclaim its heavenly birth in that singular manner in which Experimental Science within the last few months has shown that Light acts upon a highly attenuated Vapour, viz., by a diffusion around of a beautiful Blue."

"The very Throne of God (Ex. i. v. 26) was as the appearance of a Sapphire Stone, i. e. of a beautiful Blue. When Moses and the Seventy went up into the Mount they saw as it were the paved-work of Sapphire Stones (Ex. xxiv. v. 10) all heavenly, and therefore Blue. In that noble Hymn beginning, 'Ride on, Ride on in Majesty,' we find the lines:—

'The Father on His Sapphire throne  
Expects His own Anointed Son.'

"When Haman thought to have destroyed the Jews and was himself hanged, we read that Mordecai (a Jew) 'went out from the presence of the king in royal apparel of blue and white' (Esther viii. v. 15), and associated with this fact are the words, 'The Jews had Light and gladness and joy and honour.' 'The Robe of the Priest's ephod all of blue' (Ex. xxviii. v. 31). 'The Golden Plate engraved with Holiness to the Lord' shall

be put upon Blue and 'worn in front of the Mitre on Aaron's forehead.' We must pause; illustrations crowd the pages of Scripture. (Ex. xxviii. v. 36, 37.)

"[There is one illustration not a Scripture one:—consider in how many towns of this country our pious forefathers provided for the moral and religious welfare of the young in Blue Schools.]"

We would not, however, have our readers to suppose that Mr. Rigg's speculations are all of this highly imaginative and ingenious character. The all-pervading presence of God and His revelation to us in Christ as illustrated respectively by the Heat and Light of the Solar Beam seems to furnish a more reliable text for profitable reflection, and is intelligently treated.

*John's Gospel: Apologetical Lectures.* By T. T. VAN OOSTERZEE, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht. Translated, with additions, by J. F. HURST, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) Dr. Van Oosterzee is known to English students by his "Commentary on the Gospel of Luke," in Lange's series. These four lectures on John's Gospel are admirably adapted for students' reading. They have one defect in style, not uncommon in polemical or apologetical literature: a sort of exultant combativeness, and a continual use of the slang of the dialectical "ring." Dr. Lange reminds us of the cabman in "Pickwick" who, not content with planting a blow on Mr. Pickwick's nose, "danced around like a cork" with fists obtrusively displayed as ready for combat. It is a great mistake to suppose that audiences need to be summoned to mark exactly how this or that blow will tell; they like much better the plain, straightforward argument. We regret to notice this serious fault in the lectures, for the lectures themselves are very good. In the lecture on the "Authenticity of John's Gospel," Dr. Van Oosterzee makes some admirable retorts. To the objection that there was no such place as "Enon, near to Salim," of which John speaks, because it is mentioned nowhere else, the reply is happy. "Enon is not once mentioned 'here as a city; and if it was so little known that it had to be more definitely denoted by the addition of the 'local specification, 'near to Salim,' then it should cause 'us no wonder that it is not mentioned by any other 'topographer.' This lecture abounds in subtle arguments of this kind, some original, others common property, for the authenticity of the Gospel. The subjects of the other lectures are "John and the Synoptic Gospels," "John's account of Christ's Miracles," and "The Johannine Christ." We heartily commend the volume. Dr. Hurst, the translator, speaks in the title-page a little ostentatiously of his "additions." They are no more than belong to the ordinary work of translating and editing.

*The Braemar Highlands; their Tales, Traditions, and History.* By ELIZABETH TAYLOR. (Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo.) There is enough in this volume of love of scenery, and of incident and legend, to have furnished three or four interesting articles in a popular magazine; it has been spoilt by being made up into a book. Elizabeth Taylor has the literary ambition, but no literary power or culture. It would be a good exercise in grammar for her to parse her own sentences; she would then find how defective many of them are in construction. Any good Handbook to Scotland will give the traveller as much topographical information as is contained here; some of the "traditions" are worth recording, but many of them are very poor. Enthusiastic collectors of legends ought to remember that peasants are not wholly innocent of cramming.

*Redemption Unfolded; from Genesis to the Apocalypse.* By the Rev. R. GASCOYNE, M.A., Bath. (London: James Nisbet and Co.) We find it impossible to conceive any reason for the publication of this book. It is simply a dry resumé of Scripture history, "from 'Genesis to the Apocalypse'; the writer has neither philosophic insight nor historical imagination. There is no principle running through the volume to justify the title "Redemption Unfolded"; no discovery of progress in the history, no sense of unity in the purpose. If a Sunday-scholar of sixteen had written the pages in an examination room without having access to books, it would have been a creditable witness to his power of memory; beyond this the volume deserves no commendation.

*Foes of Faith.* Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge in November, 1868. By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D., Vicar of Doncaster. (London: Macmillan and Co.) It is subjective faith of which Dr. Vaughan discourses, and its foes are "Unreality, Indolence, Irreverence, and Inconsistency." The enumeration of these titles is itself a sermon, suggestive and searching. Dr. Vaughan is earnest and thorough; it must have been good for Cambridge men to listen to his preaching. Sometimes he is very happy in his definitions; occasionally, too, he takes a firm grasp at once of some important theme, and of the soul of his hearer. But his style has a tendency to run to the "interjectional"; and that makes him feeble where he might be, and would be, did he but use calmer and plainer speech, strong. The sermon on "Irreverence" is sadly tainted with this vice, and such a topic, above all others, should be dealt with thoroughly, not hysterically, before a congregation of young men.

*The Greek Sceptics, from Pyrrho to Sextus.* An Essay which obtained the Hare Prize in the Year 1868. By NORMAN MACCOLL, B.A., Scholar of Downing College, Cambridge. (London: Macmillan and Co.) An excellent prize essay; showing diligence, discrimi-



nation, and love of learning. It is like a prize essay in that it is not thoroughly adapted, either for a popular or a scholastic public; it takes for granted too much acquaintance with the subject for the one, it is not thorough enough for the other. But even students of this special topic might consult the little volume with advantage; and it is full of promise. We hope we shall meet Mr. MacColl again in the department of philosophy.

The third edition of *Central Truths*, by Rev. CHARLES STANFORD (Hodder and Stoughton), speaks for itself. We are glad to find so interesting and forcible a writer meeting with that encouragement which the demand for a third edition implies.

*Gems from the Coral Islands*, by the Rev. W. GILL (Yates and Alexander), has also passed to a second edition, which is prepared in a form suitable for wide circulation.

### Miscellaneous News.

**THE CASE OF SIR MORTON PETO.**—At the Bankruptcy Court on Monday, before Mr. Commissioner Winalow, an application was made on behalf of the National Bank, to prove a claim against the separate estate of Sir Samuel Morton Peto, to the amount of 150,000*l.*, with 7,000*l.* odd interest. Mr. Bagley, who appeared for the National Bank, said that the claim arose from a guarantee which had been given to the National Bank, on account of 50,000*l.* advanced to Mr. Hartwell, and it was for 150,000*l.* with interest. The terms of the guarantee were that three bills should be discounted of 50,000*l.* each, and that Consolidated A Stock of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway should be deposited in the hands of the bank to the amount of 125,000*l.*, and that if the bills were not paid one day before they were due, the bank should be at liberty to sell them. The guarantee was dated December, 1865. After hearing the arguments on both sides, the learned Commissioner ruled that the applicants were entitled to prove.

**THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.**—The number of new members returned to the House of Commons since the dissolution of November, 1868, has now been increased to twenty-three; and, taking account of thirteen re-elections, it would appear that the House has been renewed during the past seven months to the extent of 5.47 per cent. The new members are Mr. R. H. Hunt (as to whose election there was at first some uncertainty), Horsham; Mr. Drax, Wareham; Colonel Wilmot, South Derbyshire; Mr. Bruce, Renfrewshire; Mr. T. Whitworth, Drogheda; the Marquis of Hartington, Radnor; Mr. E. Miall, Bradford; Major Anson, Bewdley; Mr. C. Phipps, Westbury; Baron L. N. Rothschild, London; Sir H. Johnston, Scarborough; Mr. H. James, Taunton; Mr. C. W. Hoskyns, Hereford; Colonel Oliva, Hereford; Mr. E. R. Hornby, Blackburn; Mr. H. M. Fielden, Blackburn; Major Walker, Dumfriesshire; the Earl of March, West Sussex; Lord Hyde, Brecknock; Mr. M. Guest, Youghal; Mr. Horsman, Liskeard; Mr. Salt, Stafford; and Captain Talbot, Stafford. Of the twenty-three new members returned, fifteen are Liberals and eight are Conservatives; they succeed fourteen Liberals and nine Conservatives; so that during the last seven months the Liberals have gained one, counting two on a division. Nine seats are now vacant, viz., Norwich, one; Dublin, one; Nottingham, one; Oshel, one; Sligo, one; Bridgewater, two; and Beverley, two. Of these nine seats, five were held by Conservatives and four by Liberals, making a difference of one on a division. The strength of the Liberals has thus been increased by three since the general election.

**MR. GOLDWIN SMITH ON AMERICAN OPINION.**—Mr. Goldwin Smith has addressed another letter from Ithaca to the editor of the *Beehive*. Remarking that he has been blamed and ridiculed for having treated Mr. Sumner's speech, and the demonstrations which followed, as affording ground for serious apprehension, Mr. Smith thus proceeds to justify himself:—"Mr. Sumner did not speak merely for himself; being chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he spoke as the organ of the Senate, which, instead of rejecting the treaty in secret session, according to its custom, threw open its doors that he might denounce and menace England before the world. All his colleagues except one voted with him; all who spoke supported and commended him. His speech was received with acclamation, as a faithful expression of the feelings and intentions of the country, by the great organs of public opinion, especially by those connected with the party in power. The antipathy to England had for some time been assiduously cultivated by the press; and the President himself, if the circumstantial statement of the great journal of his own party was to be believed, had expressed sentiments similar to those of Mr. Sumner on the question at issue. The propensities of the annexationist party had been excited by the insurrection in Cuba; and the annexation of Canada had been propounded in a quarter so influential as to cause alarm to the Canadians themselves. If this state of things was not serious, I do not know what state of things is. There are circumstances in the present condition of this country, and tendencies among certain sections of its people, which, if I am not very greatly deceived, will constitute a standing danger so long as an angry question remains unsettled between the two nations. I know, and in my former letter I recognised the fact, that the American people in general are too sensible, and too right-minded, to wish for war. But nations very seldom wish for war. They drift through diplomatic complications, and under the influence of excited feelings, into situations in which war becomes inevitable. We were beginning to

drift into one of these situations; we should have drifted further if the danger which lay before us had not been distinctly presented to the popular mind; and therefore I believe you will have no reason, as a friend of peace, hereafter to regret your publication of my letter."

**NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.**—Mr. George Potter, who was a candidate for this borough in the working men's interest, honourably withdrew on Friday. Colonel Lees, the Tory candidate, also retired. The nomination took place on Monday, when Mr. Seely, jun., one of the Liberal candidates at the last election, was proposed. The other candidate was Mr. Digby Seymour, the barrister, who had the powerful support of Lady Clifton, and came out as an Independent Liberal. The latter had the show of hands, which was two to one in his favour. Mr. Seely, in his speech, referring to the question of the day, said—

A generation had just passed since there was any very serious collision between the Lords and the Commons. It was a rather curious coincidence that in the year when that collision occurred the father of the present Mayor of Nottingham was mayor of the town, and then, as now, the people of Nottingham exercised no inconsiderable influence upon the Lords. Within sight of those bustings were the ruins of the castle which testified to the sad events which characterised that time. They all deplored those events, and hoped the time had gone by when they would occur again, but again the Tory party were doing their best to risk their recurrence. On them (the electors) the responsibility rested; and, if they stood true to their colours that day and to-morrow, they might influence the House of Lords, so that they would not place themselves in violent opposition to the wishes of the people. For what object were the Lords going to risk the renewal of this conflict? To try to keep still in existence a Church which had been, as an Establishment, a disgrace to England in the eyes of all Europe—a Church which had been barren of good and fruitful of ill feeling. Yet there were those who invoked the sacred name of religion to encourage the Lords in the course which they proposed to pursue. What was the message which the Church had to deliver to the people? Every Sunday morning when the bells rang in a day of rest, those bells rang out the message of peace and good-will. He asked them to elect him as the representative of peace and good-will, peace to Ireland, and good-will to the different orders of the State in England. Elect his opponent, and they would elect the representative of discord and hate—discord in Ireland, and hate in England, as the ruins of the Castle of Nottingham testified.

Mr. Seymour, after replying to some personal attacks that had been made upon him, spoke upon the Irish Church question.

He said it was true that he had contended that it would be well if there was a reform to some extent both in the Irish and English Church. He thought the necessities of modern times and the exigencies of religious progress called for some measure by which the people might have bishops in the Lords with less incomes. For his part, he would make a reduction in those incomes, which had grown so much of late, and distribute the money so taken off against the working clergy and their families. That was the reform for which he contended. He was a man of progress; but, at the same time, he had an objection to the form, to the shape, and to the extent to which Mr. Gladstone wished to give away the endowments of the Irish Church; and should his measure pass the House of Lords, the day might come when the people would lose what they were now holding as the sacred head of a free and religious country. On other questions his views were similar to those held by the late Sir Robert Clifton.

At the close of the poll yesterday Mr. Seely was returned by a large majority, the numbers being:—

Seely .. .. .	4,634
Seymour .. .. .	4,525

Majority .. .. . 109

Fifty thousand people assembled in the market-place; and Mr. Seely's appearance on the hustings was the signal for the most frightful yells. The hon. gentleman addressed a few words to the crowd, which were completely inaudible. Numerous stones and missiles were thrown at him; but fortunately he escaped being hurt. The town was last night in a very excited state. Mr. Bernal Osborne will, it is said, come forward at the next vacancy, it being believed that Colonel Wright, the Conservative member, intends resigning at the end of the present session, on the ground of ill-health.

### Crimes and Casualties.

From Merthyr Tydvil we have news of a terrible colliery explosion, by which no fewer than 130 lives were at first supposed to have been sacrificed. Ferndale Colliery, the scene of the catastrophe, is divided into three districts, and at seven o'clock on Thursday morning 600 men went down to their work. Soon after they had descended an explosion occurred in what was called the Duffryn district, in which 120 men had gone. Over half that number were killed. Those in the two other workings escaped uninjured. The inquest on the bodies of the unfortunate colliers who were killed in the Ferndale explosion has been opened, and some formal evidence taken. The inquiry stands adjourned to July 1st. It is expected that about a dozen bodies yet remain in the pit, and that a loss of 60 lives will be the extent of the calamity. A safety-lamp has been found on the ground with the lid open. It is expected that a fall took place in the main roadway, which had liberated a quantity of gas; a man was sent to clear away the rubbish; he opened his lamp with a false key (which many colliers carry) to light his pipe; this ignited the gas, and caused the explosion. Ferndale pit is reputed to be, as well as one of the largest, one of the best ventilated pits in the South Wales district, and the proprietors, Messrs. D. Davis and Sons, are

known to spare no expense in perfecting or supplying all that science says is needful. For them, personally, great sympathy is felt; but the general feeling is that neglect of some kind has taken place.

On Wednesday there was a fearful boiler explosion, attended with considerable loss of life, at Bingley, at a bobbing turning mill occupied by Messrs. Town and Sons. The whole building was thrown into ruins by the explosion, and the town startled by the noise. On one side of the mill there was a national school, and at the time of the explosion the children were playing in the playground. A portion of the debris fell into the playground, and buried a number of the children beneath it. The main body of the boiler was carried to a distance of forty yards, and several fragments as far as one hundred yards. Thirteen persons were killed by the explosion, and about a dozen seriously injured. The boiler is said to have been out of repair.

Two fatal railway accidents are reported. Whilst a new engine was on trial on the Brecon and Merthyr Railway it ran off the line. Mr. Kendall, locomotive superintendent of the Rhymney Railway, and the driver of the engine, were killed. A third man was so seriously injured that he is not expected to live. In the other case an excursion train, conveying Sunday-school children, ran over and killed four boys on the deviation line at Crews.

Major Bewick, late Chief Constable of Birkenhead, was indicted at the Central Criminal Court on Friday, on a charge of having forged a power of attorney for the transfer of a sum of 431*l.* Consols. The defendant was a trustee with a resident of Gibraltar of a sum of 4,000*l.* in the Three per Cents. The theory of the prosecution was, that the prisoner, whilst under temporary financial pressure, forged the name of his co-trustee to a power of attorney for the sale of the 431*l.*, which he doubtless intended to replace when the period of his embarrassment should have passed away. He was found guilty, and sentenced by Baron Pigott to five years' penal servitude.

### Gleanings.

The first 'bus in America was Columbus.

Why is the Mediterranean the dirtiest of seas?—Because it's the least tidy.

The *Echo* speaks confidently of the issue of half-penny newspaper stamps.

Not less than fifty thousand mackerel were captured off Hythe on Saturday.

At Jersey, on Sunday week, the thermometer at noon reached 108 degrees. Two deaths resulted from the great heat.

The directors of the Agricultural Hall have let the whole of the area for the summer season, for the purpose of velocipedal practice.

The height of politeness is passing round upon the opposite side of a lady, when walking with her, in order not to step on her shadow.

On a gravestone in Maine appears the following inscription:—"Our little Jacob has been taken away from this earthly garden, to bloom in a superior flower-pot above."

A lawyer who had a most absurd case submitted to him, on being asked if the action would lie, answered, "Yes, if the witnesses will lie, too, but not otherwise."

The *Chicago Journal of Commerce* informs us that houses are being built of paper, and that they are warmer and cost one-third less than houses built of wood and plaster after the usual fashion.

Beggar woman: "Please sir, give me a penny to keep me from starving!"—Gent.: "Can't stop—in a great hurry; I've got to make a speech at the Society for the Relief of the Destitute."

"Now and then I resort to wine to stimulate my wits," said a young spendthrift to an old one.—"Ah," replied the veteran, "that is the way I began; but now I have to resort to my wits to get my wine."

Miss Rye left the Mersey on Thursday in charge of another party bound for Canada. The emigrants were chiefly young women of the domestic servant class.

The Dean of Winchester took part in the service at the choral festival held recently in his cathedral. The venerable gentleman has attained his ninety-fourth year!—*Musical Standard*.

The emigration movement still continues among the operative weavers at Preston, and it is expected that another batch of emigrants will be sent off this week. It is stated that the spinners and minders are not so anxious to emigrate as the weavers.

**THE REASON WHY.**—"Sir," said a fierce lawyer, "do you, on your solemn oath, declare this is not your handwriting?" "I reckon not," was the cool reply. "Does it resemble your handwriting?" "Yes, sir, I think it don't." "Do you swear that it don't resemble your handwriting?" "Well, I do, old head." "You take your solemn oath that this writing does not resemble yours in a single letter?" "Y-e-a-s, sir." "Now, how do you know?" "'Cause I can't, and never could, write."

Habitual drunkards in Illinois, by a recent act of the Legislature, are hereafter to be subjected to a very stringent course of treatment. They are classified with indigent, idiotic, and insane persons, and are to be placed under the care of guardians or of the overseers of the poor. A similar provision exists in Pennsylvania, but the regulations are more strict in Illinois, since in the latter State when a person has once been declared an habitual drunkard the guardianship over him must continue for an entire year.

**SUMMER HOLIDAYS.**—The bright sun and warm weather of the last few days have doubtless directed the thoughts of many a household to the periodical removal from town to country, which is one of the



superstitions of society. It is marvellous to see how families who live in pleasant houses in the suburbs of London spend their summer "holidays." These holidays consist, in nine cases out of ten, of the exchange for a few miserable weeks of all the comforts and conveniences of a well-appointed home for the dirt and discomfort of an hotel or lodgings, where their children either catch, or run the risk of catching, measles, small-pox, scarlet fever, or some other unpleasant ailment. At the close of this happy vacation they return home minus a considerable amount of money, and perhaps one or two children, to find that the housemaid in whose charge they left their property has shared the responsibility with a guest whom she calls her brother, that the two have left the house to take care of itself, that the garden has become a wilderness, and that rates, taxes, bills, and other abominations are waiting to be paid, the only consolation remaining for the pleasure of the holiday being the reflection that it is at least over for another year. Surely these people would be much happier if, instead of incurring so many risks, so much trouble and expense, they were to make their own houses their head-quarters, and in these days of railroads take several expeditions, returning in the evening to their own comfortable homes instead of sleeping in stony vermin-haunted beds with dirty dimity curtains, and occupying dingy ill-ventilated rooms with no provision for washing or ventilation. There is, we fear, little prospect of this view being taken. As a nation we revel in gloomy respectable extortion, and should not be contented unless we afforded amusement to lodging-house keepers and undertakers, who chuckle, not without reason, over the follies of our holidays and graves.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

## Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

### BIRTHS.

ANTILL.—June 4, at 3, York-villas, Strand-green-lane, Hornsey, the wife of Adonijah Antill, of twin daughters.  
EDWARDS.—June 5, at Harlow, Essex, the wife of the Rev. F. Edwards, B.A., of a son.  
WANSBROUGH.—June 7, Lizzie, the wife of Mr. G. B. Wansbrough, Barrow-on-Furness, of a son.

### MARRIAGES.

TUCKER-BEARNE.—June 1, at Newton, by the Rev. G. Gordon, Frederic, second son of Mr. W. Tucker, merchant, Totnes, to Emily Sprague, second daughter of E. S. Bearne, Esq., Teignmouth.  
KEMP-HORNE.—June 2, at the Friends' Meeting-house, Holloway, Robert Kemp, of Windsor-road, Holloway, to Ellen, second daughter of Robert Horne, of Hornsey-lane, Highgate.  
TROTMAN-WEIGHT.—June 3, at the Independent Chapel, Cam, by the Rev. H. Jones, of Uley, Samuel Jones Trotman, to Fanny Betty, youngest daughter of Mr. T. Weight, of the Stepe Farm, Lower Cam.  
OLIPHANT-OLIVER.—June 4, at Falcon-square Chapel, by the Rev. J. Spong, of Southgate-road Congregational Church, Thomas, only son of Mr. T. Oliphant, of Finsbury, to Anne Elizabeth Oliver, eldest daughter of the late Mr. Josiah Oliver, of Bartholomew-close, City.  
WOLT-PARR.—June 5, at St. Paul's Independent Chapel, Wigan, by the Rev. W. Roaf, Mr. Edward Holt, to Miss Alice Parr, both of Aspull.  
HILL-JACKSON.—June 7, at the Congregational Church, Cockermouth, by the Rev. W. Lewis, Mr. William Hill, of Blimborake, to Miss H. Jackson, of Chaloner-street, Cockermouth.  
HILL-EPPS.—June 8, at St. Marylebone Church, Roland, eldest son of John Hill, Esq., Stock Exchange, and 19, Tavistock-square, to Louisa, third daughter of Dr. George N. Epps, of 30, Devonshire-street, Portland-place, W. No cards.  
TERRY-RICHARDS.—June 9, at the Congregational Church, North-end, Finchley, by the Rev. P. J. Turquand, Peter Terry, of Colney-hatch-park and Hatton-garden, to Jane, youngest daughter of the late Thos. Richards, Esq., Chipperfield, by the Rev. E. Steane, D.D., Edwin Hodder, of Champion Villa, Harlesden, to Edith Seymour, youngest daughter of Frederic Bankart, of Langley Lodge, King's Langley, Herts. No cards.  
FELL-THOMAS.—June 9, at the Congregational Church, Luddenden Foot, by the Rev. Wm. Thomas, of Leeds, brother to the bride, assisted by the Rev. S. D. Hillman, Mr. Joseph Fell, of Halifax, to Miss Mary Thomas, of Luddenden Foot. This being the first marriage solemnised in this place of worship, a handsomely-bound Bible was presented to the newly-married pair.  
ANDREW-ROSE.—June 9, at the Baptist Chapel, Coalville, by the Rev. W. Salter, Mr. T. H. Andrew, of Leicester, to Mary, only daughter of Mr. Thomas Rose, of Ravenstone.  
WARD-BLINKHORN.—June 9, at the Independent Chapel, St. Helen's, Lancashire, by the Rev. J. A. Macfadyen, M.A., of Manchester, the Rev. R. J. Ward, of St. Helen's, to Sarah, youngest daughter of Billings Blinkhorn, Esq., of Ravenhead House, St. Helen's.  
WALL-TWEDDLE.—June 10, at the Congregational Church, Redcar, by the Rev. F. Hewitt, of Darlington, brother-in-law of the bride, the Rev. W. H. Wall, of Stoke-upon-Trent, to Belle, youngest daughter of the late Henry Tweddle, of Carlisle.  
WILKINS-JAKINS.—June 10, at the Wesleyan Church, King's-cross, by the Rev. C. D. Newman, John Canning Wilkins, M.R.C.S., of Brixton-road, to Emma Vosper, eldest daughter of Isaac Negus Jakins, M.R.C.S., of Osnaburgh-street, N.W.  
SMITH-MILLARD.—June 10, at the Congregational Church, Above Bar, Southampton, by the Rev. H. H. Carlisle, L.L.B., B.A., Robert Sale Smith, of Southampton, to Fanny, eldest daughter of the late Edward Candish Millard, and step-daughter of Thomas Creed, also of Southampton.  
TREHARNE-ELLIS.—June 12, at Victoria-road Congregational Church, Newport, Mon., by the Rev. Henry Oliver, B.A., assisted by the Rev. William Edwards, of Aberdeen, uncle to the bridegroom, Mr. John Lloyd Treharne, son of the late Mr. David Treharne, ironfounder, Blackwood, to Eleanor Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Thomas Ellis, C.E., of Newport, late of Tredegar Ironworks.  
ALDIS-WEBB.—June 15, at St. Andrews-street Chapel, Cambridge, by the Rev. J. Aldis, father of the bridegroom, James Arthur Aldis, of Calcutta, to Francis Emily Webb, daughter of the Rev. James Webb, of Bury, Lancashire.

### DEATHS.

PAGE.—April 20, at Darjeeling, Bengal, after a long wearying sickness, in her eighteenth year, Jennie, second daughter of the Rev. J. O. Page, of the Baptist Mission.  
CRANBROOK.—June 6, at Trinity, Edinburgh, in his fifty-first year, the Rev. James Cranbrook, for two years pastor of Albany-street Independent Church in that city.  
WILKS.—June 7, in London, the Rev. E. D. J. Wilks, in his sixty-fifth year.  
LEONARD.—June 8, at 31, Albert-road, Highgate, Mr. Thomas Leonard, aged seventy-six years, for many years one of the deacons of Hoxton Academy Chapel. Friends will please accept this intimation.

BILLSON.—June 10, at De Montfort-square, Leicester, Annie, the wife of C. Billson, aged forty-eight.  
PARSONS.—June 10, at Bermondsey, Mrs. Charlotte Parsons, formerly of Tiverton, Devonshire, aged sixty-seven.  
NEELD.—June 11, at 26, Upper Brook-street, London, the Lady Caroline Neeld, daughter of the sixth Earl of Shaftesbury.  
BASNETT.—June 14, at 5, Clyde-terrace, Stockwell-road, S.W., the dearly loved wife of Nathaniel J. F. Bassett, aged twenty-four years.

## BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 52, for the week ending Wednesday, June 9.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.	
Notes issued ....	£32,468,720
Government Debt ..	£11,015,100
Other Securities ..	3,984,000
Gold Coin & Bullion ..	16,468,720
	£32,468,720
BANKING DEPARTMENT.	
Proprietors' Capital ..	£14,558,000
Reserve ..	3,181,850
Public Deposits ..	6,949,900
Other Deposits ..	17,169,310
Seven Day and other ..	454,233
Bills ..	454,233
	£42,268,013
	£42,268,013

June 10, 1869. Geo. FORBES, Chief Cashier.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—Palpitation, pain in the side, wheezing or tightness in the chest, present coming relief. The sufferers at this season from coughs, colds, bronchitis, asthma, and disordered action of the heart, can earnestly recommend to rub Holloway's searching ointment well over the back and chest twice a day. Invalids may confidently rely upon the beneficial effects resulting from this treatment, which involves no danger or very little expense. Fortunately neither ointment or pills can possibly prove injurious. They soon relieve all urgent symptoms, ultimately eradicate the complaint, and remove all causes for its recurrence. In early life more particularly all departures from health demand immediate attention.

## Markets.

### CORN EXCHANGE, London, Monday, June 14.

The show of English wheat was small this morning, and very liberal arrivals have come to hand from abroad. The Trade was firm, and English wheat sold steadily at last week's rates. Foreign met a fair demand, and was fully as dear. Flour was dull at barely previous prices. Peas and beans were unaltered in value. Of oats arrivals are moderate. The finer descriptions sold at last week's rates, but for inferior Russian qualities quotations are 6d. lower. At the ports of call there is no cargo remaining. Quotations, cost, freight, and insurance remain the same as last week.

### CURRENT PRICES.

WHEAT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.	PEAS—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Essex and Kent, red, old ..	— to —		Grey ..	39 to 40	
Ditto new ..	43 45		Maple ..	44 45	
White, old ..	—		White ..	37 39	
new ..	47 50		Bollers ..	37 39	
Foreign red ..	43 45		Foreign bollers ..	36 38	
white ..	48 49				
BARLEY—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.	RYE ..	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
English malting ..	30 33			31 32	
Oatmeal ..	40 43		OATS—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Distilling ..	34 36		English feed ..	26 30	
Foreign ..	29 32		potato ..	29 31	
MALT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.	Scotch feed ..	—	
Pale ..	—		potato ..	—	
Chevalier ..	—		Irish black ..	20 23	
Brown ..	31 32		white ..	20 24	
BEANS—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.	Foreign feed ..	18 22	
_ticks ..	35 38		WHEAT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Harrow ..	38 40		Prime Southdowns ..	5 8 to 5 10	
Small ..	—		Lambs ..	5 4 6 4	
Egyptian ..	34 36		Lge. coarse calves ..	4 6 5 0	

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, June 14.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 14,460 head. At the corresponding period in 1868 we received 7,500; in 1867, 12,592; in 1866, 15,871; and in 1865, 14,169 head. Only moderate supplies of English beasts, but there was still a scarcity of prime stock. Without being active the demand was firm, and prices were supported. The best Scots and crosses sold at 5s. 8d. to 5s. 8d. per 8lbs. The market was moderately supplied with foreign stock. On the whole the trade was steady at about last week's quotations. From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire we received about 1,000 Scots and crosses; from other parts of England, about 450 various breeds; from Scotland 125 Scots and crosses, and from Ireland 30 head. With sheep the market was fairly supplied; the inquiry was heavy in consequence of the late change in the weather. The best Downs and half-breeds sold at 5s. 6d. to 5s. 8d., and in some instances 5s. 10d. per 8lb. There was a fair show of lambs, for which the demand was moderate. The extreme quotation was 5s. 4d. per 8lb. Calves were firm on former terms. The supply was moderate. Pigs sold slowly, at previous quotations.

### Per 8lbs. to sink the Offal.

Inf. coarse beasts.	s. d.	a. d.	Prime Southdowns	s. d.	a. d.				
Second quality	5	8	5	8	5	10			
Prime large oxen.	4	8	5	4	Lambs	5	4	6	4
Prime Scots, &c.	5	6	5	8	Lge. coarse calves	4	6	5	0
Coarse inf. sheep	4	2	5	0	Prime small	5	2	5	10
Second quality	4	2	5	0	Large hogs	5	6	4	6
Pr. coarse woolled	5	2	5	6	Newam. porkers	4	8	5	2

Suckling calves, 22s. to 25s.; and quarter-old store pigs, 22s. to 25s. each.

Suckling calves, 22s. to 25s.; and quarter-old store pigs, 22s. to 25s. each.

### SMITHFIELD MEAT MARKET, Monday, June 14.

Moderate supplies of meat have been on sale. On the whole the trade has ruled firm, at our quotations. The import into London last week consisted of 160 packages 14 qrs. from Hamburg, 8 packages from Harlingen, and one sack from Rotterdam.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.	Per 8lbs. by the carcase.
Inf. mutton ..	5 4 3 8
Inf. beef ..	5 8 0 to 5 8
Middling ditto ..	5 8 10 4 2
Prime large do. ..	4 4 4 8
Do. small do. ..	4 10 5 2
Large pork ..	5 8 3 4 2
Small pork ..	4 2 5 4

COVENT-GARDEN MARKET.—LONDON, Saturday, June 13.—A busy week, but prices scarcely maintained, excepting for forced strawberries, which are now becoming scarce, and the out-door ones make slow progress. English pines are abundant, and much lower in price. Foreign produce active. Potatoes are coming in fast from the Channel Islands, but they are not good, consequently prices for them are low. Flowers consist of orchids, German stocks, pelargoniums,

heaths, hydrangeas, calceolarias, roses, rhododendrons, mignonne, fuchsias, heliotropes, pinks, carnations, and large quantities of bedding plants.

BOROUGH HOP MARKET, Monday, June 14.—Reports from the plantations speak of increase of fly in nearly every district of importance, and the general appearance of the bine so far is sick and weakly, creating doubt as to future prospects. Our market is firmer, with more business doing. New York letters to the 2nd June, report the market as inactive. Mid and East Kent, 2s. 10s., 2s. 10s., to 6s. 10s.; Weald of Kent, 2s. 5s., 2s. 10s., to 4s.; Sussex, 2s. 1s. 10s., to 3s. 15s.; Farnham, 3s. 10s., 4s. 6s., to 6s.; Country, 3s. 10s., 4s., to 5s.; Bavarins, 2s. 1s. 10s., to 3s. 10s.; Belgians, 2s. 1s. 10s., to 3s.; Yearlings, 2s. 1s. 10s., to 3s. 10s.; Americans, 2s. 5s., 2s. 10s., to 3s. 10s. The imports of foreign hops into London last week consisted of 130 bales from Antwerp, 71 Dunkirk, 31 Hamburg, 17 Quebec, 25 Rotterdam, and 1,340 bales from New York.

PROVISIONS, Monday, June 14.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 443 firkins butter, and 2,537 bales bacon, and from foreign ports, 24,060 packages butter, 1,438 bales bacon. The Irish butter market remains without change, so little passing in sales that quotations are quite nominal. Foreign butter further declined about 4s. per cwt., best Dutch 9s. to 9s. The bacon market ruled very quiet, and at the close of the week dealers purchased cautiously at the late advance.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS.—Monday, June 14.—The supplies of potatoes are good, but somewhat less extensive. The demand has been moderately active, at our quotations. The import into London last week consisted of 15,136 bags, 6 baskets from Antwerp, 45 bags Boulogne, 3,180 sacks, 937 baskets Dunkirk, 7 cases Gibraltar, 2,319 boxes Marsala, 151 barrels Odessa, 61 baskets Oporto, 934 packages Pomares, 522 boxes 31 packages Alicante, 231 tons Brussels, 1,024 packages Genoa, 17 baskets Rotterdam, and 5 tons from Dieppe. Regents, 80s. to 120s. per ton; Flukes, 80s. to 120s.; Scotch Regents, 70s. to 120s.; Rocks, 70s. to 90s.; French, 50s. to 75s.

SEED, Monday, June 14.—Little English cloverseed was offered, and prices were nominally the same as previously. A short growth is this season looked for, the plant having been injured by frosts and bad weather earlier in the season. Foreign qualities were steady in value. Trefoils met more inquiry, and there are buyers at lower prices. Fine white mustardseed is held as high as previously, but little is wanted for the moment.

WOOL, Monday, June 14.—A better feeling has pervaded the demand for English wool, which the lowering of the Bank rate and the abundance of money have tended to consolidate. Transactions have been entered into with more freedom, and the future is regarded with increased confidence.

OIL, Monday, June 14.—Lined oil has been quiet, but steady in value. Rape has been in fair request, but at rather higher quotations. Olive oil has been firm; but other oils are inactive. Petroleum and turpentine have been dull.

TALLOW, Monday, June 14.—The market is firm. Y.C. on the spot, 44s. per cwt. Town Tallow 42s. 6d. net cash.

COAL, Monday, June 14.—Market heavy, at last day's rates, Wallsend Huttons, 17s. 6d.; Huttons South, 17s.; Huttons Russels, 16s.; Hartlepool, original, 17s. 6d.; Hartlepool, 16s. 8d.; Hawthorn, 15s.; Hough Hall, 16s. 8d.; Lambdon, 16s. 8d.; Eden Main, 15s. 9d.; Hartley, 14s. 6d. Ships fresh arrived, 29; ships left from last day, 18.—total, 47. Ships at sea, 29.

## Advertisements.

**VOLUNTARY CHURCH-RATES**  
Copies of the Act for the Abolition of Compulsory Church-rates, with information for the guidance of ratepayers, may be had on application to the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control.  
J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Secretary.  
2, Serjeants'-inn, Fleet-street, London.

## NEW COLLEGE, LONDON.

The NINETEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING will be held at the COLLEGE, Finchley New-road, St. John's-wood, on FRIDAY EVENING, June 25. The Chair will be taken at Six o'clock by the Rev. Dr. STOUGHTON. Mr. DAVID YOUNG, B.A., Harris Scholar, will read an Essay on "Wycliffe and the Lollards." The usual business of the Annual Meeting will be transacted, including the Distribution of the Certificate of Honour obtained at the Examinations, and the Presentation of Books from the Selwyn Fund to Students leaving the College. Several Ministers and Gentlemen are expected to address the Meeting. The attendance of subscribers and friends of the College is respectfully invited.  
W. FARRER, LL.B., Secretary.

**NEW COLLEGE, LONDON.—Candidates**  
seeking admission in September next as Students for the Ministry are reminded that their applications should be sent in as soon as convenient.

All necessary information may be obtained from the Secretary at the College, Finchley New-road, Hampstead, N.W.  
W. FARRER, LL.B., Secretary.

## PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

The Rev. GEORGE ST. CLAIR, F.G.S. of Banbury, has been authorised by the Committee to deliver LECTURES on the work of this Society for the season 1869-70. Ministers, Deacons, Secretaries, and others are invited to communicate either with Mr. St. Clair or the undersigned as early as possible.  
By order,  
W. BESANT, Secretary.

9, Pall Mall East.

**EXCAVATIONS at JERUSALEM.—An**  
EXHIBITION of ANCIENT POTTERY, GLASS, and other relics found in the Shafts of Lieutenant Warren, with Models of Jerusalem, Photographs, &c. is NOW OPEN at the DUDLEY GALLERY, EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY. Admission, One Shilling.

## CLEVEDON COLLEGE, NORTH-

AMPTON.  
Head Master, EDWARD RUSH, B.A.  
Second Master, F. SCHREINER, Esq.

Since June, 1866, Ninety University Certificates have been obtained by Candidates from this College, Forty-six of which have placed the possessors in the Honours Lists.

As at least one-fourth of the entire number of Pupils enter for University examinations every Christmas, it is evident that there is no mere preparation and presentation of picked boys; and Mr. Rush would point to the fact that he has hitherto been successful in passing from five-sixths to seven-eighths of his Candidates, as showing the thoroughly satisfactory way in which boys of merely ordinary, or of poor, ability are trained at Clevedon College.

This Establishment is provided with a fine Swimming Bath (attended by a Swimming Master), a large and convenient Warm-bath Room, Spacious Fives Courts, and various kinds of Gymnastic Apparatus.

TERMS INCLUSIVE.]



### THE ASYLUM for FATHERLESS CHILDREN, REEDHAM, near OROYDON.

The PUBLIC EXAMINATION of the CHILDREN will be held at the Institution, THIS DAY, 16th inst.

Mr. Sheriff HUTTON has kindly consented to preside on the occasion.

Admission by tickets only, which may be obtained at the Office, 10, Poultry, E.C.

THOS. W. AVELING, Hon. Secretary.

### THE ASYLUM for FATHERLESS CHILDREN, REEDHAM, near OROYDON.

For Children of Both Sexes, and from every part of the Kingdom.

Under the Patronage of Her Majesty the QUEEN.

The GENERAL MEETING and MIDSUMMER ELECTION of this Charity will be held on MONDAY, the 21st inst., at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, when a Report will be presented of the domestic and financial state of the Charity, and the several Officers chosen for the ensuing year. The Board have the pleasure of announcing that Fifteen Children (Nine Boys and Six Girls) will be elected at this time.

The Chair will be taken by Mr. Sheriff HUTTON at Eleven o'clock. The Poll will open at Twelve, and close at Two o'clock precisely. Subscriptions and donations are very earnestly solicited.

THOS. W. AVELING, Hon. Secretary.

Office, 10, Poultry, E.C.

### THE ONE HUNDRED and FIRST ANNI-VERSARY of the COUNTESS of HUNTINGDON'S COLLEGE, at ORESHUNT, will be held on THURSDAY, June 24th, 1869.

Divine Service will commence at Eleven o'clock, with the reading of the Order for Morning Prayer.

The ANNUAL SERMON will be preached by the Rev. JAMES BALDWIN BROWN, B.A.

A Cold Collation will be served at Half-past One o'clock, in a marquee in the College grounds.

At Four o'clock the Prizes and Certificates of Honour will be distributed, when the Report of the Professors will be read, and an Address delivered by Mr. CHARLES J. C. NEW, on "Personal Experiences of College Life."

Tickets for Dinner and Tea 5s., and for Tea 1s., may be obtained from the Secretary, at the College Rooms, 7, Blomfield-street, E.C. Tickets and seats are correspondingly numbered. Early application is desirable, as only a limited number will be issued. New arrangements have been made to secure that the Refreshments shall be satisfactorily provided, and all Dinner Tickets issued will be charged full price.

Trains leave the Great Eastern Station, Shoreditch, for the Waltham and Cheshunt Stations, at 9.30 and 10.30.

### TO the MEMBERS of the BRITISH EMPIRE MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

A vacancy having occurred in the Board of Direction of your Company through the decease of the late Mr. G. W. Burge, I beg to offer myself as a candidate at the approaching election.

My reasons for doing so are briefly these: My very great personal and relative interest in the British Empire Mutual Life Assurance Company.

My desire to promote life assurance among all classes of the community as the true basis of all prudent monetary arrangements on the part of those who have families depending upon them for support.

My unlimited faith in the mutual principle, especially as applied to life assurance; and last, but not least, my not unambitious ambition to sit at the Board of Direction of a Company already so large and influential, and which, from the soundness of its principles, must inevitably grow to be one of the first assurance companies of the kingdom.

Should you do me the honour of electing me to take the place of your late and lamented director, Mr. Burge, you will have my best energies directed to the advancement of your interests, and I feel confident, from my general acquaintance with commercial and monetary matters, that you will never have to regret confiding to me, as one of your Directors, the trust which I now seek at your hands.

I remain, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,  
ROBERT BARKER STARLING.

68, Great Portland-street, London, June 8, 1869.

### MRS. GLADSTONE'S FREE CONVALESCENT HOME, Woodford Hall, Essex, N.E.

President—Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

Chairman of Committee—Lord William Hay.

Treasurer—T. Powell Buxton, Esq.

Honorary Secretary—Lieut-Colonel E. Neville.

Bankers—Sir S. Scott, Bart., 1, Cavendish-square; and Messrs. Barclay, Bevan, and Co., Lombard-street.

Convalescents are admitted free of all cost, according to the merits of the case, and on the recommendation of any respectable person, subscriber or not. Over 1,300 persons have already been received.

Further SUBSCRIPTIONS or DONATIONS are urgently REQUIRED to carry on the work.

The Report and Balance-sheet may be had on application to the Honorary Secretary, at 30, Clarges-street; or at 11, Carlton House-terrace.

### ROUEL ROAD CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL, BERMONDSEY.

PASTOR.—REV. GILBERT McALL.

Cost of Proposed Building..... £4,800  
Amount already promised..... 2,500

This Work commenced under the auspices of the Surrey Congregational Union in the midst of a dense population. It has now, under Mr. McAll's ministry, outgrown the limits of the present Temporary Iron Chapel, which must be removed within twelve months.

Contributions are earnestly solicited towards the Building Fund, that the new Chapel may be opened free from debt.

Accommodation will be provided for 1,000 Adults, and for 700 Children in the Schools.

Donations will be received by the Treasurer, Arthur Marshall, Esq., Peckham-rye, and 101, Leadenhall-street, City; Rev. Gilbert McAll, 45, Upper Grange-road, S.E.; and at the Office of the Nonconformist, 18, Bonnerie-street, Fleet-street, and the Christian World, 13, Fleet-street.

Among the chief amounts already promised are:—

	£	s.	d.
B. Morley, Esq., M.P.	500	0	0
London Congregational Chapel Building Society (Grant)	250	0	0
Ditto (Loan)	250	0	0
W. Tarn, Esq.	150	0	0
W. W. Beare, Esq.	150	0	0
J. Remington Mills, Esq.	100	0	0
Coward Trustees	100	0	0
A Friend	100	0	0
B. Berington, Esq.	50	0	0
J. Crane, Esq.	50	0	0
T. Simpson, Esq.	50	0	0

### JOHN-STREET CHAPEL, BEDFORD-ROW.

The SERVICES in connection with the RECOGNITION of the Rev. EDWARD MEDLEY, B.A., to the pastorate will be held on TUESDAY Evening, June 29, at 6.30 p.m.

The Rev. J. ANGUS, D.D., Regent's Park College; Rev. C. M. BIRRELL, of Liverpool; Rev. J. C. HARRISON, of Camden-town; Rev. W. G. LEWIS, of Baywater; Hon. and Rev. B. W. NOEL, M.A., London; Rev. EDWARD MEDLEY, B.A., will take part in the Services.

Also a SERMON will be preached by Rev. C. M. BIRRELL, of Liverpool, on SUNDAY MORNING, July 4th. Service to commence at 11 a.m.

### LONDON.—SHIRLEY'S TEMPERANCE HOTEL, 27, Queen-square, Bloomsbury.

Beds from 1s. 6d. Plain Breakfast or Tea, 1s. 3d.

PROFESSOR PEPPER'S LECTURE on the GREAT LIGHTNING INDUCTION, as delivered before their Royal Highnesses the Princess Louise and Beatrice.—"ROBIN HOOD" and "ALADDIN," musically treated by GEORGE BUCKLAND, Esq.—The "ASTROSCOPE"—Woodbury's "Photo-Relief Process"—DORE'S Pictures of "Elaine,"—Stokes on Memory.—At the ROYAL POLYTECHNIC.—One Shilling.

EAST GRINSTEAD, SUSSEX.

FOR SALE, a Residential Freehold Property, known as "The Yew," Ashurst Wood (the property of the late John Epps, Esq., M.D.), with possession, within a mile of Forest Row Station, about two miles of East Grinstead, and thirty-three of London. It comprises a well-built Residence, placed on an eminence, with southern aspect, commanding an extensive and picturesque view of the surrounding country, including Ashdown Forest, and the valley leading to Tunbridge Wells. There are seven Bed-rooms, Dressing-rooms, three Reception-rooms, Entrance-halls, Conservatory, Domestic Offices, with Gatekeeper's Lodge, Stabling for three or six horses, Coach-houses, and Outbuildings, also Kitchen Garden, Orchard, Lawn, and Pleasure-ground, including a large Swimming Bath supplied by a spring, Summer-house, and nearly forty-one acres laid out in a park-like manner, with gravelled walks, clumps of trees, &c. Particulars, with plans, can be had of Hahnemann Esq., Esq., 38, Euston-square, N.W.

FOR SALE.—TEN VOLUMES of the "NONCONFORMIST," commencing with the year 1835, complete, clean, bound. Address, G., Post-office, Bilston.

WORKING HOUSEKEEPER to a SINGLE GENTLEMAN or WIDOWER, or any Place of Trust. Middle-aged, good references, highly respectable.—E. W., St. Helen's Cottage, Latchmere, Battersea.

A LARGE, sweet-toned, ALEXANDRE HARMONIUM, in Oak Case, with Two Rows of Keys, Thirteen Stops, Knee-swell, &c., is offered to any Lady or Gentleman wishing to present it to a Church, Chapel, or School, at One-third its value. Price 21 Guineas.—Apply H. Davison, 3, Park-villa, Park-road, Crouch End, Hornsey.

IRON CHURCHES for SALE, with accommodation for Three Hundred Persons. Entirely a new principle of construction, being very easily and inexpensively removed. Re-purchased at a remunerative price, reducing the Hire of such Buildings to a moderate amount, and meeting with the requirements so much in request.—S. C. Hemming and Co., 21, Moorgate-street, City.

### SCHOOL for YOUNG LADIES.

Mrs. and Miss FLETCHER purpose OPENING a SCHOOL for a select number of Young Ladies at Christchurch, Hampshire, on August 2nd, 1869.

The locality offers all the advantages of a sea-side residence, the house and grounds being about a mile from the south coast, opposite the Isle of Wight.

The course of instruction will embrace all the usual branches of a sound English education, together with the French and German languages, Music, and Drawing.

References kindly permitted to the Rev. Thomas Binney, Upper Clapton; Rev. John Curwen, Plaistow; Rev. J. O. Harrison, 49, Gloucester-road, Regent's Park; Rev. N. Hurry, Bournemouth; Rev. G. B. Johnson, Edgbaston; Rev. Samuel Martin, 19, Balgrave-road, Fimble; Rev. W. Major Paul, Romsey; Rev. Professor H. B. Reynolds, Cheshunt College; Rev. George Smith, D.D., Poplar; Rev. John Wood-wark, Christchurch.

Prospectuses on application as below:—

Hengistbury House, Christchurch, March 12, 1869.

HOWARD HOUSE SCHOOL, Thame, near Oxford.—This School, from its establishment in 1840, has paid particular attention to those subjects required in Business. The Pupils (more than 2,000 from the above period) have excelled in "Good Writing," Arithmetic, French, Drawing, Book-keeping, Mercantile Correspondence. The best Penmanship and Drawing in the Exhibition of 1851, also the best Specimens of Book-keeping and Business Letters in the Crystal Palace during the Second Exhibition of 1862, were executed by Pupils in this School. Mr. MARSH is assisted by Six Resident Masters and Two Lady Teachers. Five Acres of private Cricket Ground.—Terms 20 Guineas; above Twelve years of age, 25 Guineas. Prospectus, with view of Premises, on application.

### LANSDOWNE HOUSE, LONDON-ROAD, LIMECHURCH.

EDUCATION FOR YOUNG LADIES.

CONDUCTED BY THE MISSES MIALL.

MASTERS—

French and Italian	Mona. C. C. Caillart.
German	Mdlle. Hottinger.
Music and Singing	J. Saville Stone, Esq., Associate, Royal Academy
Drawing and Painting	Mr. J. Hoob.
Dancing and Calisthenics	Mr. C. Smart.
Chemistry	Dr. Albert J. Bernays, Professor of Chemistry at St. Thomas's Hospital, London.
Arithmetic	Mr. J. Hepworth.

The above branches of education are taught exclusively by the masters assigned to them. The general English education is under the immediate direction of the Principals and a competent staff of Governesses.

References to parents of pupils, and others, if required.

### STROUD LADIES' COLLEGE, BEECHES-GREEN, STROUD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Principals, The Misses HOWARD. Resident Foreign Governesses.

HALF TERM COMMENCES JUNE 21.

Terms and references on application.

### BLACKPOOL.—COLLEGE HOUSE SCHOOL, QUEEN'S SQUARE.—This Establishment,

on the West Coast, in one of the healthiest localities in England, combines the advantages of sea air and bathing, with superior intellectual and moral training and the comforts of home.

References:—Rev. Alex. Raleigh, D.D., London; Rev. James Spence, D.D., London; Rev. Andrew Reed, B.A., St. Leonard's; John Cramley, Esq., J.P., Halifax; Henry Lee, Esq., J.P., Manchester.

Prospectuses on application to JAMES CROMPTON, Principal.

### COMMERCIAL SCHOOL, CRANFORD HALL, near HOUNSLOW, MIDDLESEX.

At this School YOUNG GENTLEMEN are Soundly Taught, Carefully Trained, and Liberally Fed. Mr. VERNY, the Principal of the School, has had much experience in the work of Education. The premises are large and well adapted. A Circular forwarded upon application.

### EDUCATION.—THEOBALDS, near WALTHAM CROSS, N.—The Rev. JOHN OSWALD JACKSON receives a limited number of Gentlemen's Sons,

and with the assistance of Resident and Visiting Masters, prepares them for Public Examinations, for the Professions, or for business. Mr. Jackson aims to furnish the advantages of a first-class school, combining individual attention with the comforts of home.

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Established in the year 1837.—Chief Office, 62, King William-street, London, E.C.

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Amount Assured.	Premiums Paid.	Bonus added to Policy.
£2,000	£405 0 0	£125 0 0
1,000	80 0 0	40 0 0
1,000	42 16 8	25 0 0
500	26 16 8	13 0 0
200	7 19 4	5 0 0

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Loans of £100 and upwards, on Mortgage of Freehold and Leasehold Property.

Loans on Personal Security, with Life Assurance.

Loans of £25 and upwards, on Policies of sufficient age and value.

GEORGE SCOTT FREEMAN, Secretary.

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At Age.	For £100	For £200	For £300	For £500
75	17 13 6	35 7 0	53 0 6	88 7 6
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For Forms of Proposal, Prospectus, &c., apply to

EBENEZER CLARKE, Jun., Secretary,

52, CANNON-STREET, LONDON, E.C.

### BRITISH EMPIRE MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,

32, New Bridge-street, London, E.C.

(Empowered by Special Act of Parliament.)

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Bunnell, Peter, Esq.,	Pratt, Daniel, Esq.
Burge, George W., Esq.,	Rantz, John, Esq.
Burton, John E., Esq.,	Sanders, Joseph, Esq.
Grosier, William, Esq.,	Wills, Fred., jun., Esq.

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BURGEON.—John Mann, Esq.

ACTUARY AND ACCOUNTANT.—Josiah Martin, Esq., F.I.A.

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Annual Income (1868), £295,756.

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The Profits are divided every third year, and may be applied in reduction of Premium, added to Policy, or received in Cash, at the option of the assured.

The next division will be declared in 1870.

Prospectuses and all needful information may be obtained on application to

ALFRED LENCH SAUL, Secretary.

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Enrolled in 1855, pursuant to Act of Parliament.

SHARES, £25 each, may be paid in one sum, or by Monthly Subscription of 5s. per share.

INVESTING MEMBERS receive 5 per cent. Interest, and Share of Surplus Profits.

MONEY ADVANCED on MORTGAGE without premium for any term of years.

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The New Series of the NORWICH UNION LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY provides a means of relieving a Life Policy from the future payments of Premium according to a system especially advantageous to the Insurer.—For the New Prospectus apply to the Society's Office, 50, Fleet-street, E.C.

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Opium, Narcotics, and Squills, are too often invoked to give relief in Coughs, Colds, and all Pulmonary Diseases. Instead of such fallacious remedies, which yield momentary relief at the expense of enfeebling the digestive organs, and thus increasing that debility which lies at the root of the malady, modern science points to CROSBY'S BALSAMIC COUGH ELIXIR as the true remedy.

### SELECT TESTIMONIAL.

Dr. Rooke, Scarborough, author of the "Anti-Lancet," says:—"I have repeatedly observed how very rapidly and invariably it subdued Cough, Pain, and Irritation of the Chest in cases of Pulmonary Consumption, and I can, with the greatest confidence, recommend it as a most valuable adjunct to an other-wise strengthening treatment for this disease."

This medicine, which is free from opium and squills, but only allays the local irritation, but improves digestion and strengthens the constitution. Hence it is used with the most signal success in Asthma, Bronchitis, Consumption, Coughs, Influenza, Night Sweats of Consumption, Quinsy, and all affections of the throat and chest. Sold by all respectable Chemists and Patent Medicine Dealers, in bottles at 1s. 9d., 6s. 6d., and 11s. each. Sold wholesale and retail by Jas. M. Crosby, Chemist, Scarborough.

## DR. KING'S DANDELION AND QUININE LIVER PILLS (Without Mercury).

The very best remedy for

BILE, WIND, INDIGESTION, ACIDITY, HEADACHE, HEARTBURN, &c.

And acknowledged by many eminent surgeons to be the safest and mildest pills for every constitution.

In boxes at 1s. 1½d., 2s. 9d., and 4s. 6d., at all chemists.

## KAYE'S WORSDELL'S PILLS.—THE

LIVER is justly credited with being the cause of many complaints. If inactive, or out of order, it becomes enlarged or irritated, producing Bilious Complaints, Jaundice, Sickness, Depression of Spirits, Irritability of Temper, &c. If neglected, a series of what are called Liver Complaints is produced, that render life insupportable. KAYE'S WORSDELL'S PILLS have been found of the greatest value in all disorders of the liver, restoring the organ to complete health, and renovating the system.

Sold by all Chemists and other Dealers in Patent Medicines, at 1s. 1½d., 2s. 9d., and 4s. 6d.

PARR'S LIFE PILLS promote Appetite, aid Digestion, and purify the Blood. The curative properties of this pure balsamic medicine recommend it as the most useful remedy for the restoration of sound bodily health and mental vigour.

HOOPING COUGH.—ROCHE'S HERBAL  
EMBUCCATION. The celebrated Effectual Cure for the Hooping Cough without internal medicine. Sold by most respectable Chemists. Price 4s. per bottle. Wholesale Agent, Edwards, 38, Old Change (formerly of 67, St. Paul's), London.

MR. ESKELL, the Author of "Pure Dentistry, and What it Does for Us," "Painless Tooth Extraction; or, Anæsthesia Locally Applied," "Dental Surgery; a Practical Treatise," "Modern Dentistry, its Principles and Practice," &c., may be CONSULTED DAILY, as hitherto, from Ten to Four o'clock, at his only residence, 8, Grosvenor-street, Grosvenor-square (a few doors from Bond-street).

LUXURIANT WHISKERS, Moustachios, and Eyebrows; also the renewal of hair on bald patches, &c. LATREILLE'S CAPILLAIRE STIMULANTE succeeds where everything else fails. Five hundred testimonials may be seen by any person calling upon JOHN LATREILLE, 38, Lorrimer-street, Walworth; or specimens sent free by post on application.

### RUPTURES.

BY HER MAJESTY'S ROYAL LETTERS PATENT.

WHITES' MOCMAIN PATENT  
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